ישנה ולבי ער
קול דודי דופק
פתחי לי אחותי
רעיתי יונתי תמתי
שראשי נמלא טל
קוצותי רסיסי
לילה

ואני זאת בריתי את
אמר יי רוחי אשר
עליך ודברי אשר
שמתי בפיך לא ימוש
מפיך מפי זרעך ומפי
זרע זרעך אמר יי
מעתה ועד עולם

Jewish-Muslim Interactions in Books:

The Medieval and Early Modern Periods

Exhibition and catalogue by Nadav Sharon and Blair Kuntz
Edited by Julia Armstrong, Elizabeth Ridolfo, and Grant Hurley
Exhibition designed and installed by Maia Balint
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Jewish-Muslim Interactions in Books:

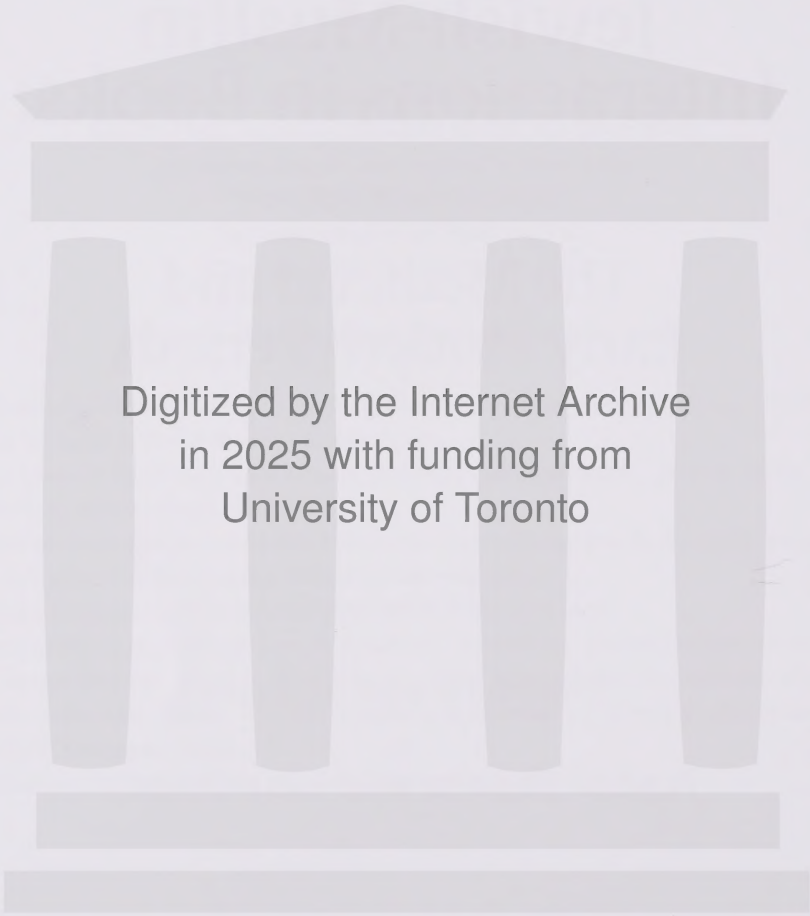
The Medieval and Early Modern Periods

Exhibition and Catalogue

by

Nadav Sharon and Blair Kuntz

The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library,
University of Toronto
20 May—8 August 2025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Preface

Jewish-Muslim Interactions in Books: The Medieval and Early Modern Periods features a selection of rare and historically significant works from the extensive collection of Judaica and Islamic materials at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. Curators Nadav Sharon and Blair Kuntz illuminate the deep and complex interactions between Jewish and Islamic cultures through the written word, showcasing texts that span centuries, regions, languages, and traditions.

The books presented in this catalogue and exhibition are a testament to the rich tapestry of intellectual, spiritual, and cultural exchanges that have shaped the histories of these two great traditions. These texts reflect not only theological and legal concerns, but also the varied and numerous ways that Jewish and Muslim intellectuals interacted with one another across time and regions. Through these historical collections, we gain a reflection of how religious and cultural identities were shaped, negotiated, and sometimes contested over centuries. This exhibition speaks to the enduring importance of the written word in bridging divides and fostering dialogue, while reminding us of the intricate ways in which cultures have both clashed and collaborated throughout history.

I invite you to explore these works, and in doing so, to reflect on the deep and lasting connections that have been forged through language, thought, art, and literature. It is my hope that this exhibition and catalogue will inspire both scholarly inquiry and a broader appreciation for the profound cultural exchanges that continue to shape our world today.

—Loryl MacDonald
Director, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

Acknowledgements

The curators would like to thank Prof. Walid Saleh of the University of Toronto's Department for the Study of Religion and Department of Near & Middle Eastern Civilizations, for his valuable part in envisioning this exhibition and in the selection of materials for it. The curators are also especially grateful to Prof. Alan Verskin of the University's Department of History, for his critical review of the entire catalogue and for his assistance with its introduction. Thanks are also due to a number of colleagues who were instrumental in the production of the exhibition and this catalogue: to the catalogue's copyeditors, Julia Armstrong, Elizabeth Ridolfo, and Grant Hurley; to Paul Armstrong for the expert photography of the items reproduced in this catalogue; and to the Fisher Library's conservator Maia Balint for the careful and beautiful installation.

This exhibition and catalogue would not have been possible without the support of the entire team at the Fisher Library, of its director Loryl MacDonald, and especially of its head, David Fernández. David enthusiastically supported this project from its outset and diligently worked with the curators on all aspects of its production.

The printing of this catalogue was made possible by the continued generous support of the Friends of the Fisher Library.

Introduction

> Yes, I attended twice, but I refused to go there for a third time ... for this simple reason, which you will appreciate: At the first meeting there were present not only people of various Islamic sects, but also unbelievers, Magians, materialists, atheists, Jews and Christians, in short unbelievers of all kinds.... One of the unbelievers rose and said to the assembly: 'we are meeting here for a discussion. Its conditions are known to all. You, Muslims, are not allowed to argue from your books and prophetic traditions since we deny both. Everybody, therefore, has to limit himself to rational arguments.' The whole assembly applauded these words. So you can imagine, Ibn Sa'di concluded, that after these words I decided to withdraw.
>
> (The Muslim historian Muhammad al-Humaydi's [d. 1095] description of the visit of the Spanish theologian Ahmad Ibn Sa'di [d. 986] to an assembly of Islamic theology, *kalām*, in Baghdad in the ninth century.)[1]

The above narrative illustrates the close intellectual relationships among theologians of different faiths in Baghdad under the Buyid dynasty (945–1055). While such instances of institutionally sanctioned interfaith relations were rare, it was not rare for Muslims and Jews to discuss and debate matters of theology and philosophy with one another.

The initial Arab-Muslim caliphate had been established in the Arabian Peninsula, but shortly after Muhammad's death (632) the Arab-Muslim forces led a rapid territorial expansion. Within a few short years they took Syria and the Holy Land, with Jerusalem falling in 638, and by 651 they had overtaken Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persia, as well as eastern Asia Minor. This quickly brought the majority of the world's Jews under Islamic rule. In the following decades, Islamic forces expanded the empire farther east, towards India, and west, taking western North Africa up to the Atlantic Ocean as well as the Iberian Peninsula, bringing even more Jewish communities under their rule. Later, Jews in Spain under Islamic rule would enjoy what is known as the 'Golden Age of Jewish culture in Spain' (tenth to twelfth centuries).

The Qur'an (9:29) allowed Jews and Christians to continue to practice their religions providing they paid a special tax (*jizya*) and were humbled (*wa-hum saghirun*). This tolerance was extended on the grounds that Jews and Christians were 'People of the Book' (*Ahl al-Kitāb*), i.e., communities that adhered to the tenets of a divinely revealed sacred text, in contrast with idolators. The details of this arrangement were later worked out in a document known as the Pact of Umar, which outlined a set of legal disabilities that Jews and Christians were required to accept in exchange for continuing their religious observances. They were thus collectively defined as *ahl al-dhimma* or, simply, *dhimmis*. While Jews were sometimes persecuted or forced to choose between conversion or exile (e.g., Yemen in 1648; Isfahan, Persia, in 1656; Mashhad, Persia, in 1839), this legal framework did generally provide them with sufficient stability to establish vibrant communities that created works of literature that continue to shape the intellectual contours of Judaism today.

From the earliest period, Islamic theology was formed in dialogue with Jews. The Qur'an itself features their debates with the Prophet Muhammad and his early community. This dialogue continues in much of early Islamic literature. Ka'b al-Ahbar, a seventh-century Yemenite-Jewish convert to Islam, is frequently reported as sharing biblical and midrashic Jewish traditions. One early Islamic author notes that Ka'b used to teach students in a mosque from an open Torah scroll.[2] While some Islamic authors contested such exploration of the Jewish tradition, others cited a saying of the Prophet Muhammad (*hadith*) in support of it: 'Transmit on my authority, be it even one [Qur'anic] verse, narrate traditions concerning the Children of Israel and there is nothing objectionable in that'.[3] These traditions later came to be known as *Isra'iliyat*.

As Islamic literature grew, Jews became its avid readers. The Jewish poet Dunash ben Labrat (c. 920–990) wrote,

> Let your Garden be the books of the Pious,
> your Paradise the books of the Arabs.[4]

Jews were inspired by the world of Islamic literature around them. Islamic *Kalam* theology led Jews to write systematic works of theology that mirrored the structure and intellectual debates of Islamic works. Muslim studies of Qur'anic grammar prompted Jews, for the first time, to write about the grammar of biblical Hebrew. Medicine, in particular, was fertile ground for interreligious mentorship and friendship. The Islamic biographer Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (thirteenth century) describes dozens of Jewish physicians who had Muslim teachers, students, and patients. Since intellectuals often came from the ranks of physicians, and vice versa, such interactions carried the possibility of broader scholarly conversations.

Most Muslims may have had little knowledge of the renaissance in Jewish literature that the Islamic world inspired. Nonetheless, there are many documented examples of Muslim and Jewish intellectuals mingling and forming friendships. Among Muslim mystics, this familiarity occasionally led to an understanding that Judaism, Islam, and Christianity tread similar paths. The thirteenth-century Andalusian Sufi, Ibn Arabi, encapsulated this in a poem:

> My heart has become capable of every form: it is a
> pasture for gazelles and a convent for Christian monks,
> And a temple for idols and the pilgrim's Ka'ba and the
> tables of the Torah and the book of the Koran.
> I follow the religion of Love: whatever way Love's
> camels take, that is my religion and my faith.[5]

Close interactions, direct and indirect connections and influences (in both directions), and cross-fertilizations are common features of the long history of Jewish-Muslim relations, and they can be seen in almost all areas of culture and knowledge.

This exhibition is intended to highlight these interactions by means of the written word, namely through the Fisher Library's diverse and extensive holdings of Judaica and Islamic materials. Presented here are manuscripts and printed books in Hebrew, Arabic, Judeo-Arabic, Persian, and other languages written or published between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries in places ranging from Morocco and Spain to Iranian Azerbaijan and Iranian Kurdistan, including Yemen and Ethiopia, as well as Europe. Included in this exhibit are the Holy Books—the Bible and the Qur'an—and their later interpretations, which display cross-cultural influences in interpretation and in the addition of non-biblical elements to biblical stories; works in religious law (*halakhah* / *hadith*); in philosophy, medicine, and science; and in mysticism and Sufism. Also evident are Islamic influences on Jewish art. In addition, works of the Samaritans and Karaites, sects that derived from Judaism and were influenced by their long histories under Islamic rule, are presented, as well as works written by Christian authors that discuss Jews and Muslims and convey similar (usually hostile) views of both. The connections and interactions are seen not only in the content of these books, but also in their art, in the languages used, in the colophons, and more.

I

THE HOLY BOOKS

Cases 1–2

הגלת יהודה׳ הלהן תענה׳ העיט צבוע

1

(1) Torah, Nevi'im, Ketuvim. Toledo, Spain, 5068 [1307].

The colophon of this manuscript of the entire Hebrew Bible directly connects its scribe to its first owner. It states that its copying was completed during the Hebrew month of Kislev 5068 (December 1307) in Toledo, Spain, by the scribe Yosef ben Yehudah ben Meryas for one Mosheh ben Yosef Yehudah ha-Nasi. Spanish Hebrew Bibles were renowned for their accuracy in the medieval period owing to their scribes' skills as copyists.[6] The scribe Ibn Merwas was especially well known for the quality and accuracy of his work.

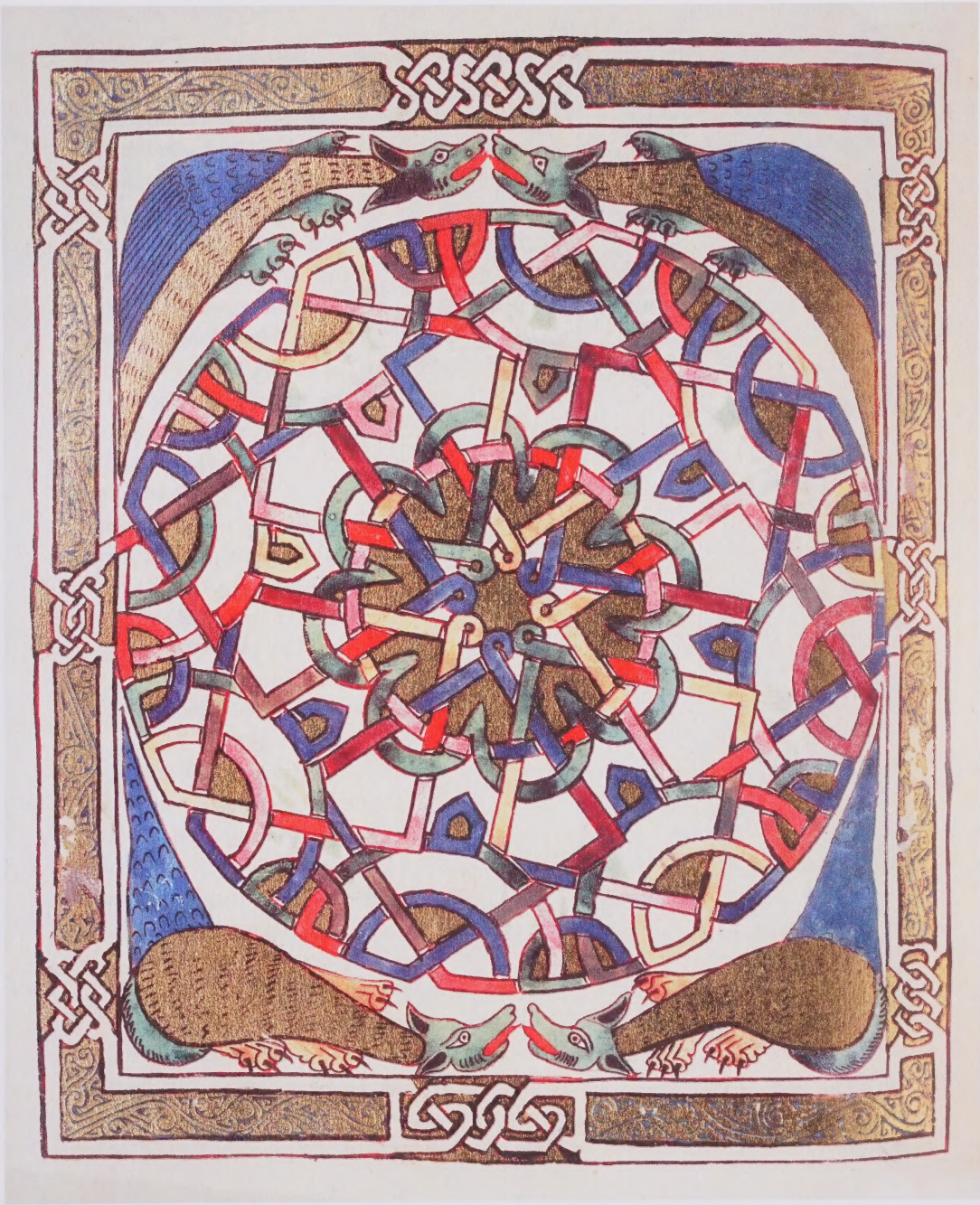
The *Masorah*[7] is written in micrography (minuscule letters, often written to form patterns or designs) in the top and bottom margins, often in geometrical shapes, making their function more visual than textual, as was common in Spain at this time. Impressively decorated carpet pages are found at the beginning and end and between the sections of the Bible. These too are in micrography, with text in larger letters providing a frame, and they are all geometric, as Jewish scribes in what was by this time Christian Spain continued to follow Muslim artistic practices.

This manuscript was once owned by the famed scholar and bibliophile David Solomon Sassoon (1880–1942), a wealthy Jewish businessman of Iraqi origin. After his death, his family auctioned off some items in his very large collection, and the Friedberg collection at the Fisher Library contains six Sassoon codices.

(2) *The Kennicott Bible.* London: Facsimile Editions, 1985.

This is an exquisite facsimile reproduction of one of the finest extant Hebrew manuscripts. It contains the entire Hebrew Bible together with RaDaK's (Rabbi David Kimchi; c. 1160–1235) *Sefer Mikhlol*, a grammatical treatise on the Bible. As attested in the colophon, the original manuscript was copied by the scribe Moses Ibn Zabarah in La Coruña, Spain, in 1476 for his patron, 'Isaac, son of the honorable, esteemed Don Solomon of Braga'. With the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492, the manuscript started its travels, probably going with its owner to Portugal and then soon continuing to North Africa. After a few other stops, it was acquired in the eighteenth century for Oxford's Radcliffe Library by Radcliffe librarian and English Hebraist Benjamin Kennicott, after whom it is named. It is now housed in Oxford's Bodleian Library.

Moses Ibn Zabara's Torah scrolls and codices were considered the most accurate transcriptions, and folk tales about his accuracy abounded. In addition to his work as a scribe of scripture, Ibn Zabara wrote a treatise on the halakhic laws of writing Torah



scrolls. Either shortly before or after the expulsion from Spain in 1492, he fled to Morocco and continued his work there.[8]

As in the Bible manuscript above (item 1), the text of the *Masorah* is found in the margins, written in intricate micrography, often in geometrical shapes. The scribe Ibn Zabara worked with an artist, who on the last page of the manuscript signed his name in anthropomorphic and zoomorphic creatures. This artist decorated the manuscript with extravagant, colourful art, carpet pages, and biblical scenes that display a range of stylistic and iconographic motifs, combining and blending Christian and Islamic designs. For example, this kind of blending of traditions and motifs is apparent in the carpet pages that separate the book of Joshua from the Pentateuch. One features a traditional Islamicate design, while two others blend Islamicate and Gothic motifs (leaves 120–123).[9]

(3) The Qur'an. Istanbul, 18th century.

This manuscript is an exemplary specimen of an illuminated Qur'an that was transcribed in Istanbul, probably in the eighteenth century. The scribe, Ali al-Turabi, was a student of the well-known Ottoman calligrapher Muhammad (Mehmet) al-Shukri. Written in fine Arabic calligraphy in black ink on ivory-coloured, glazed paper, it is illuminated with Turkish rococo ornamentation in gold, red, green, rose, and blue. The colophon is also heavily illuminated and decorated, and the text on each page is enclosed in gold leaf frames. The binding has an Islamic flap of black goatskin over boards and is stamped in silver and gold with gilt gauffered edges.

Scribes and copyists wanted to lend visual form to the meaning and content of their production of the Qur'an. Since Islam forbade the visual reproduction of human and animal figures, beautiful calligraphy emerged, and variations of abstract, geometric, and vegetal designs became the main form of decoration.

Ottoman sultans, queens, and viziers obtained numerous Qur'ans through purchase, gift, or war. In turn, these prized items were endowed to public or religious institutions. Doing so demonstrated the donors' personal piety but also expressed their power and prestige. This act also spread the Qur'an's divine blessings to believers.

As is well known, many of the main and minor figures of the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament feature prominently in the Qur'an. These include such figures as Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Aaron, as well as Jesus and Mary. Overall, the Qur'an's presentation of these figures and its retelling of the stories associated with them are not essentially different from those of the Bible, although details of their stories often differ, in

some cases significantly. Some of the non-biblical details are, however, found in post-biblical, and often pre-Islamic, Jewish texts, such as various midrashim (homilies). For an important example, see items 11–13 below about Joseph/Yusuf. Another important feature of the Qur'an's recollection of biblical figures and narratives is the text's presumption of readers' familiarity with their stories.[10]

سورة البقرة
وهي مدنية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الم ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه هدى للمتقين
الذين يؤمنون بالغيب ويقيمون الصلوة ومما
رزقناهم ينفقون والذين يؤمنون بما انزل اليك
وما انزل من قبلك وبالاخرة هم يوقنون
اولئك على هدى من ربهم واولئك
هم المفلحون

فيها بيان ست
وسبعون اية

سورة الفاتحة
الكتاب

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين ۝ الرحمن
الرحيم ۝ مالك يوم الدين ۝ إياك نعبد و
إياك نستعين ۝ اهدنا الصراط المستقيم
۝ صراط الذين أنعمت عليهم
غير المغضوب عليهم و
لا الضالين ۝

وهي سبع آيات

سورة البقرة مدنية الا خمس ايات فاعفوا واصفحوا الاية ليس
عليك هداهم الاية نزلت بمكة واتقوا يوما ترجعون فيه الى الله
نزلت بمنى وهي اخر اية نزلت في قول ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما امن
الرسول الى اخرها نزلن يوم فتح مكة وهن كنز لم يفتح لاحد قبله
وهي مائتا اية وسبع وثمانون اية في عدد البصري وست في
الكوفي وخمس في الباقي الخلاف واحدى عشرة اية الم عدها الكوفي
عذاب اليم عدها الشامي وترك عوضها انما نحن مصلحون الا خائفين
عدها البصري يا اولي الابصار تركها المكي والمدني الاول من خلاف
تركها المدني الاخير ماذا ينفقون عدها المكي والمدني الاول لعلكم
تتفكرون عدها المدني الاخير قولا معروفا عدها البصري الحي القيوم
عدها البصري والمدني الاخير وكلماتها ستة الاف ومائة واحدى
وعشرون كلمة وحروفها خمسة وعشرون الفا وخمسمائة
حرف

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الم ذلك الكتب لا ريب فيه هدى
للمتقين الذين يؤمنون بالغيب ويقيمون
الصلوة ومما رزقنهم ينفقون
والذين يؤمنون بما انزل اليك وما انزل
من قبلك وبالاخرة هم يوقنون

ومن فضائل سورة البقرة واية
الكرسي ما رواه ابو هريرة رضي
الله عنه ان رسول الله صلى الله
عليه وسلم قال لا تجعلوا
بيوتكم قبورا فان البيت الذي
يقرا فيه سورة البقرة لا يدخله
شيطان رواه مسلم

ومن فضائل سورة البقرة
عن ابي مسعود البدري رحمه
الله عنه عن النبي صلى الله عليه
وسلم قال الايتان من اخر البقرة
من قراهما في ليلة كفتاه

وقال تام نافع لا ريب
الم حيث وقع تام اذا جعل
اسما للسورة اي اقرا واجعل
على تاويل انا الله اعلم وهو
الاختيار وقيل كاف وقيل
ليس بتام ولا كاف لان معناه
يا محمد

الم انا الله اعلم وقيل
اسم من اسما القران
وقيل سر القران وقيل
سر القران في حروف الهجاء

سورة فاتحة الكتاب العزيز مكية وقيل مدنية وهي سبع
ايات الخلاف في اثنتين بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عدها المكي
والكوفي وتركوا عوضها انعمت عليهم وعدد كلماتها في حساب
الكتبة للحجاج بن يوسف تسع وعشرون كلمة وحروفها مائة
واحدى وعشرون حرفا وهذه السورة العظيمة شفا من كل داء وقيه
من كل مرض وعلة ولها اثنان وعشرون اسما فاتحة الكتاب وام الكتاب
والواقية بالفاء والوافية بالقاف والكافية والسبع المثاني
وام القران والشفاء والاساس والحمد والرقية والنور وسورة الـ
الصلاة وسورة الحمد وسورة تعليم المسئلة وسورة المناجاة
والدعاء والسوال والتذكر والتفويض ولكثرة الاسماء
تدل على الشرف

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العلمين الرحمن الرحيم
ملك يوم الدين اياك نعبد واياك
نستعين اهدنا الصراط المستقيم
صراط الذين انعمت عليهم غير
المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

وعن ابي سعيد الخدري
رضي الله عنه ان اناسا من
اصحاب رسول الله صلى الله
عليه وسلم كانوا في سفر فمروا
بحي من احياء العرب فاستضافو
فابوا ان يضيفوهم فقالوا
لهم هل فيكم من راق فان سيد
منهم لدغ او مصاب فقال رجل
نعم فاتاه فرقاه بفاتحة
الكتاب فبرا الرجل فاعطى قطيعا
من غنم فابى ان يقبله وقال
حتى اذكر ذلك لرسول الله صلى
الله عليه وسلم فاتى النبي صلى
الله عليه وسلم فذكر له ذلك
فقال يا رسول الله ما رقيت الا بفاتحة
الكتاب فقال ومايدريك انها رقية
خذوها واضربوا لي معكم بسهم
اخرجه البخاري ومسلم

قرا عاصم والكسائي
ملك بالالف والباقون
بغير الف

قرا حمزة عليهم والميم
ولديهم بضم الهاء في الثلاثة
حيث وقعن والباقون بكسرها

(4) Qur'an. Harar, Ethiopia, second half of the 18th century.

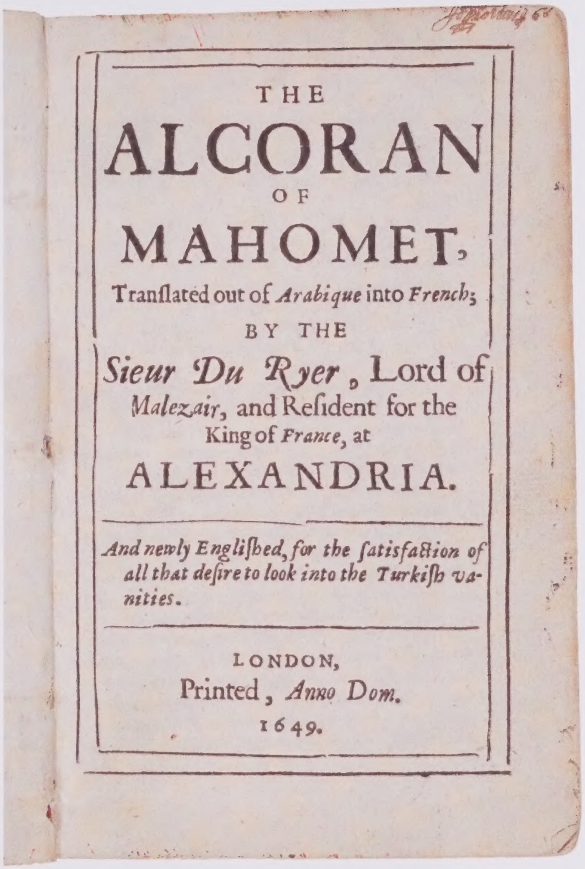
This manuscript of the Qur'an from East Africa, which was previously part of a private collection in New York, was probably transcribed in Harar, Eastern Ethiopia, in the second half of the eighteenth century. Harar, known in Arabic as the 'City of Saints', was the foremost centre of Islam in Ethiopia, and it was the capital of an independent emirate from the middle of the eighteenth century. Harar is regarded as the fourth holiest city of Islam, containing three mosques that date from the tenth century and 102 shrines. It became an Islamic centre in the sixteenth century.

Islam in Ethiopia can be traced to the religion's very beginning, when, in about 615, Muhammad advised a group of Muslims to escape persecution in Mecca by travelling to Ethiopia. They were sheltered there by the Christian king, Najashi. Moreover, the first person to give the call to prayer and one of the most prominent of Muhammad's companions, Bilal ibn Ribah, was born in Mecca to an Abyssinian mother. Today, Muslims comprise one-third of the population of Ethiopia, where Christianity and Islam have co-existed for hundreds of years. In addition to these two dominant religious groups, Ethiopia also had a significant Jewish presence, a community known as Beta Israel.

Very few Islamic manuscripts remain from the time of sophisticated production that once thrived in Harar and the Horn of Africa. This manuscript is written in distinctive large, curved script used in both the main section and the commentary. It resembles the Bihari script used in Indian Qur'ans dating from the fifteenth century. The connections between the Horn of Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Indian subcontinent are an ongoing subject of scholarly research. Manuscripts such as this one may offer some insight into the cultural exchange that occurred between these regions and into 'the position of Harar within long-distance artistic networks stretching from Egypt to India'.[11] The paper used in the manuscript is Venetian, indicating how Harar, and Ethiopia in general, was linked with territories far removed from its immediate surroundings. Since Venetian watermarked paper began to be used in manuscripts from Ottoman-ruled Egypt and Yemen in the eighteenth century, it is probable that the paper in this manuscript arrived through one of these Ottoman-ruled territories.

The frontispiece seen here is frame-ruled, with a chain decoration, coloured in green and red. The remainder of the text is double-framed and then triple-framed in red ink.

(5) *The Alcoran of Mahomet.* London, 1649.


THE
ALCORAN
OF
MAHOMET,
Tranſlated out of *Arabique* into *French*;
BY THE
Sieur Du Ryer, Lord of
Malezair, and Reſident for the
King of *France*, at
ALEXANDRIA.
And newly Engliſhed, for the ſatisfaction of all that deſire to look into the Turkiſh vanities.
LONDON,
Printed, *Anno Dom.*
1649.

This first English-language translation of the Qur'an was published in 1649 in London and is said to have been 'translated out of Arabique into French; by the sieur Du Ryer, Lord of Malezair, and resident for the King of France, at Alexandria; and newly Englished, for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish vanities'. On pages 406–420, the translator, Alexander Ross (1590–1654), warns the reader of 'A needfull caveat or admonition, for them who desire to know what use may be made of, or if there be danger in reading the Alcoran'.

As the edition notes, Ross translated into English from André du Ryer's *L'Acoran de Mahomet*, which he had translated from Arabic and published in 1647. Du Ryer's edition was the third Western translation of the Qur'an, the first being a translation into medieval Latin by Robert de Ketton (c. 1110–1160).

Muslims did not begin to translate the Qur'an into English until the early twentieth century. The first translation—by Mirza Abu Fazl of Allahabad, India—was published in 1910.

سورة البقرة مائتان

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الم ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه هدى

این کتاب شکی دران نیست راهنمای

للمتقين الذين يؤمنون بالغيب و

پرهیزکارانست کسانی که گرویده اند بنادیده یعنی خدا و قیامت

يقيمون الصلوة ومما رزقناهم ينفقون

و برپا میدارند نماز را و پاره از انچه روزی داده ایم انها را نفقه میکنند در راه خدا

والذين يؤمنون بما انزل اليك وما انزل

و کسانی که گرویده اند بانچه فرستاده شده بسوی تو و انچه فرستاده شده است

من قبلك وبالاخرة هم يوقنون

از پیش از تو و بقیامت انها جازمند

سورة الفاتحة المكية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بنام خداوند بخشنده مهربان

الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم

ستايش مر خدايرا كه پروردگار عالميان است بخشنده مهربان است

مالك يوم الدين اياك نعبد و

صاحب روز جزا ترا پرستم و

اياك نستعين اهدنا الصراط

از تو مدد ميجوئيم برسان ما را براه

المستقيم صراط الذين انعمت عليهم

راست راه كسانيكه احسان كرده بر ايشان

غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

نه راه آنكه خشم كرده شده است بر ايشان و نه راه گمراهان

(6) Al-Qur'an: Sūrat al-Fātiḥah wa Sūrat al-Baqarah, 1-74. 1128 AH [1715 or 1716].

This slim unbound manuscript of thirty-five pages includes only the first two *surahs* of the Qur'an: *Surat al-Fatihah* and *Surat al-Baqarah*. Consisting of only seven *ayahs* (verses), *Surat al-Fatihah* (or 'The Opener') is a prayer for guidance and mercy. It is recited in Muslim obligatory and voluntary prayers known as *ṣalāh*. *Surat al-Baqarah* ('The Heifer' or 'The Cow') is the longest surah in the Qur'an (at 286 verses). It contains several commands, such as fasting during Ramadan and forbidding interest or usury, and recounts the stories of Adam, Ibrahim (Abraham), and Musa (Moses). In addition to those biblical figures, the Children of Israel are a major focal point of this *surah*, which describes the sojourn of the Israelites in the desert, God giving His book to Moses, and more. In fact, the very title of this *surah*, 'The Heifer', parallels the Torah section on the commandment of the 'red heifer' (Numbers 19). The *surah* also enjoins pagans, Jews, and hypocrites (*munāfiqīn*) to convert to Islam. Verse 281 of the *surah* is believed to be the last verse of the Qur'an to have been revealed as Muhammad was performing his last Hajj, which occurred eighty or ninety days before his death.

This manuscript, dated 1128 Hijra (1715 or 1716), is written in Arabic and Persian. The Arabic (black) is in *naskh* script, the predominant calligraphy used in the Islamic East, while the Persian (red) is in *nasta'liq* script, which became the calligraphy predominantly used for Persian manuscripts. At the head of the text (the *sarlawḥ*, or frontispiece) are two exquisitely designed paintings with floral motifs and gold illuminations. There are also two *tadhhīb* (illuminated decorations in the margins). These illuminated decorations are designed to inspire the reader with awe and the overwhelming wonder of the spiritual world, and they indicate to readers that they are entering a sacred space. The lines framing the text are also elaborate and colourful, including yellow, orange, and blue lines and illumination. This text in turn is bordered by a double black line.

(7) Ḥamishah Ḥumshe Torah. 5209 [1448].

This Torah manuscript is written in a Sephardic (i.e., from the Iberian Peninsula) hand on vellum. Its colophon attests to the fact that it originally included the entire Torah (Pentateuch). However, only the books of Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy survive in this codex. It is likely that the books of Genesis and Exodus were bound in a separate volume and the two were separated at some point in their history. The colophon also

100

מִכֹּל מַתְּנֹתֵיכֶם תַּרִימוּ אֶת
כָּל תְּרוּמַת יְהוָה מִכָּל חֶלְבּוֹ
אֶת מִקְדְּשׁוֹ מִמֶּנּוּ׃ וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם בְּהָרִימְכֶם
אֶת חֶלְבּוֹ מִמֶּנּוּ וְנֶחְשַׁב לַלְוִיִּם
כִּתְבוּאַת גֹּרֶן וְכִתְבוּאַת יֶקֶב
וַאֲכַלְתֶּם אֹתוֹ בְּכָל מָקוֹם אַתֶּם
וּבָתֵּיכֶם כִּי שְׂכַר הוּא
לָכֶם חֶלְפִּי עֲבֹדַתְכֶם בְּאֹהֶל
מוֹעֵד׃

וְלֹא תִשְׂאוּ עָלָיו חֵטְא בְּהָרִימְכֶם
אֶת חֵלֶב מִמֶּנּוּ וְאֶת קָדְשֵׁי בְנֵי
יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא תְחַלְּלוּ וְלֹא תָמוּתוּ׃

וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל מֹשֶׁה וְאֶל
אַהֲרֹן לֵאמֹר׃ זֹאת חֻקַּת הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה
יְהוָה לֵאמֹר דַּבֵּר אֶל בְּנֵי
יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִקְחוּ אֵלֶיךָ פָּרָה
אֲדֻמָּה תְּמִימָה אֲשֶׁר אֵין בָּהּ
מוּם אֲשֶׁר לֹא עָלָה עָלֶיהָ עֹל

וְנִתַּתֶּם אֹתָהּ אֶל אֶלְעָזָר

informs us of the name of the scribe, Moshe ben Ḥiyyah Ha-Kohen, and that he copied the manuscript for his own use and finished it on 9 Tevet 5209 (14 December 1448). Owners' inscriptions at the end indicate that the manuscript was owned by Yemenite Jews in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In this manuscript, each biblical verse is followed by the ancient Aramaic *targum* (translation) of Onkelos, the Judeo-Arabic *Tafsīr* (translation) of Saʿadiah Gaon (882–942) and, lastly, the commentary of Rashi (Rabbi Shlomo Yitsḥaki, 1040–1105). Thus, it is an interesting blend of Mizraḥi (Oriental or Middle Eastern) and Ashkenazi (Central European) interpretations, attesting to the influence of Rashi—the famous French medieval commentator of the Bible and Talmud—in the Jewish world beyond Ashkenaz. Interestingly, in the first half of the manuscript, the *targum* is accompanied by vocalization markings above the letters, which was the Babylonian system.

Saʿadiah Gaon was born in the Fayyum in Egypt in 882, and by the 920s he was in Babylonia, where he was soon appointed head of the Sura rabbinic academy, one of the two major rabbinical schools in Babylonia. Saʿadiah's thought is commonly considered to belong to (or to be significantly influenced) by the *kalām* (the science that studies the basic doctrines of Islamic faith).[12] His translation of the Torah into Arabic, known as the *Tafsīr*, was not the first, but it quickly became the universally accepted translation. Still used to this day, it is considered the most influential medieval Judeo-Arabic work. Saʿadiah's *Tafsīr*, in fact, circulated beyond the Jewish world, in Christian churches and among Muslim scholars.

All translations necessarily have an element of interpretation, and Saʿadiah's is not a word-for-word rendering of the original. He introduced changes from the plain meaning of the words of the Bible, many of them a consequence of the influence of rabbinic traditions as well as his own philosophical and theological views, such as a concern (shared by the contemporary Muʿtazila) about anthropomorphisms. Perhaps not surprisingly, it has been shown that his *Tafsīr* was also influenced by Arabic language and culture. Furthermore, some scholars have suggested instances of Islamic influences on Saʿadiah's translation. Seen here is an example found in the commandment to sacrifice a red heifer and use its ashes in a purification ritual (Numbers 19:2). Saʿadiah translates the word 'red' (אֲדֻמָּה) as צפרא, *ṣafrāʾ*, which normally means 'yellow'. It is likely that Saʿadiah did not intend to indicate that the colour of the cow in the biblical commandment was yellow, but rather to allude to a specific shade of 'red'. However, it has been suggested that his choice of this specific word was influenced by the Qur'anic passage in *Surat al-Baqarah* (see above, item 6), in which Moses commands the Israelites to sacrifice a yellow cow (2:69).[13]

(8) *Tūrāt Mūsá al-nabī ʿalayhi al-salām: is est Pentateuchus Mosis arabicè.* Lyon, France: Erpenius, 1622.

The first printed Arabic edition of the Pentateuch is found in the polygot edition of Eliezer Soncino (of the famous Jewish printing family) in Constantinople in 1546. However, that edition was completely in Hebrew script, consisting of the biblical text, the Aramaic Targum Onkelos, Saʿadiah Gaon's Judeo-Arabic translation (known as *Tafsīr*), a Judeo-Persian translation by Jacob ben Josef Ṭāwūs (sixteenth century), and Rashi's commentary. It was only about eighty years later that the first edition of the Pentateuch in Arabic letters was printed in this *Pentateuchus Mosis arabicè*. It was undertaken by Thomas van Erpe, known as Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), who is considered one of the leading Arabists of his time. To print in Arabic, he set up his own press. In 1616, six years prior to this edition of the Pentateuch, he had overseen the publication of an edition of the New Testament in Arabic.

To produce this printed edition of the Pentateuch, Erpenius transcribed into Arabic script the Judeo-Arabic translation of a manuscript he had access to. The manuscript he used, which had been owned by the Christian Hebraist Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) and is now in the library of the University of Leiden, reflects the North-African Judeo-Arabic tradition of biblical translation, which is more literal than Saʿadiah Gaon's *Tafsīr*.[14]

ہماری کامل اور قوی امید ہے کہ جیسے وہ اب روحانی طور پر ہمارے ساتھ ہے ویسے ہی جہاں وہ آپ ہے وہاں ہم بھی جائینگے اور ہمیشہ اُسکے ساتھ رہینگے کیونکہ وہ ہمارا اکمل سفارشی کامل قربانی سے ہمارے لئے پردہ میں داخل ہوا ہے (یوحنا ۱۷-۲۴)۔

ساتویں فصل

خیمہ کے بڑے پردے کے بیان میں

(خروج ۲۶-۳۱) یہہ پردہ مہین کتے ہوئے کتان کا تھا (کتان سن کا کپڑا ہے نہایت نفیس اور مہین اور مضبوط) اُسپر کروبیوں کی صورتیں منقش تھیں اُسمیں ہر سہ رنگ تھے یعنے آسمانی ارغوانی و قرمزی اور یہہ پردہ چار ستون سے لٹکتا تھا جو سونے سے ملمع تھے اور اُنکے کُنڈے سونے کے اور کرسیاں چاندی کی تھیں۔ یہہ پردہ مسیح کے جسم کا نمونہ تھا (عبرانی ۱۰-۲۰) وہ مہین کتان سے تھا آسمانی رستبازی کا نمونہ کہ خدا رستبازی میں سکونت پذیر ہے اُسمیں تین رنگ تھے جو مسیح کے مدارج پر اشارے تھے کہ وہ آسمانی اور دنیاوی یعنے خدا و انسان ہو کے ایک مسیح ہے۔ جب مسیح صلیب پر موا تو اِس پردہ کا کیا حال ہوا دیکھو (متی ۲۷-۵۱) کہ وہ پردہ اوپر سے نیچے تک پھٹ گیا نیچے سے اوپر تک کسی آدمی نے نہیں پھاڑا مگر الٰہی فعل سے وہ اوپر سے نیچے تک پھٹ گیا۔

یہہ پردہ خدا میں اور آدمیوں میں آڑ تھا۔ جب تک پہلا خیمہ کھڑا رہا پاکترین مکان کی راہ نہ کھلی تھی (عبرانی ۹-۸) اور چونکہ بیلوں اور بکروں کا لہو گناہوں کو نہ مٹا سکتا تھا

THE HOLY PLACE

(9) Robert Clarke (1825–1900). *Miftāḥ al-taurāt.* Ludhiana: Mission Press, 1876.

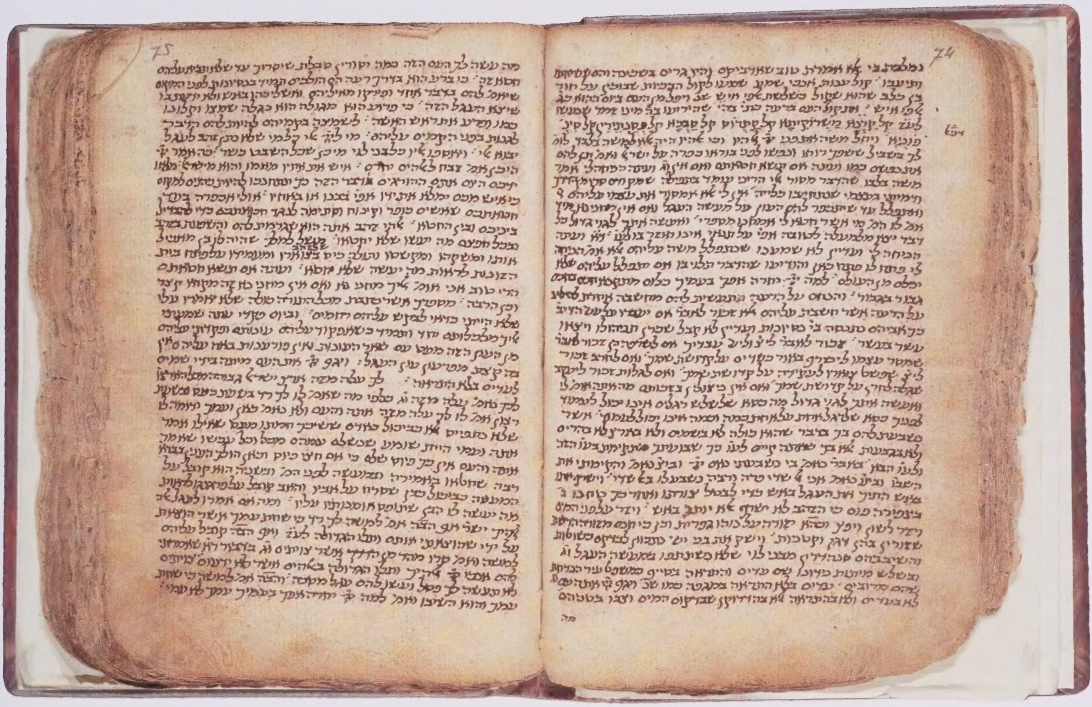
The translation of this Urdu book's title is 'The Key to the Torah [Pentateuch],' and this is its second edition, published in 1876 in Ludhiana, in what is now the Indian state of Punjab. The book's editor, Reverend Robert Clarke, was serving with the Church Missionary Society (CMS), which worked within the Anglican Communion and had been sending missionaries to India since 1816. Clarke and another colleague were the first CMS missionaries in the Punjab. Clarke was also the first CMS missionary to Afghanistan and the city of Leh in Ladakh. He carried out missionary activities in India from 1851 to 1868, after which he went back to England, returning to Punjab in 1876 and working there until his death in 1900.

This book was intended as an educational text with a commentary and translated passages from the Pentateuch. It begins with a chromolithograph frontispiece on which the Urdu title is in gold, and it includes eleven chromolithographic plates, with illustrations of the High Priest and of the Tabernacle and its holy objects such as the altar, the menorah (seven-branched candelabrum), and the ark. The cover is the original, made of black pebble-grain cloth. The Urdu title is gilded on the front cover, and the book has the original cobalt blue endpapers and red-speckled edges. It is a rare example of a Mission Press title that has been embellished with exported lithographs. The plates were produced in London by William Dickes, whose studio was at the leading edge of chromolithographic printing in England.

The book is distinctive for its illustrations, demonstrating how the Christian press in India attempted to make its publications more captivating to attract converts. Dickes' radiant gold-highlighted chromolithographs were almost certainly sent from his studio as loose plates and then bound into the text when they arrived in Punjab, something that can be ascertained because only the frontispiece has over-printing in Urdu.

(10) Yalḳuṭ midrashim ʻa. ha-Torah. Yemen, 14th century.

This manuscript on vellum is the only surviving copy of this previously unknown text. The work is a collection of midrashim (homilies) on the Torah (Pentateuch). Some of the homilies are similar to those found in better-known midrashic (homiletic) texts, and the manuscript often records interpretations of Rashi, but the text as a whole is unknown. Written in a Yemenite hand, this manuscript dates to the fourteenth century.



It is incomplete: most of Genesis and the very end of Deuteronomy are missing (it covers Genesis 48:1–Deuteronomy 33:24), but it still contains 298 pages. The format is such that the biblical text is quoted first, immediately followed by the *derasha* (homily), which is then followed by words of the biblical text and so on.

This manuscript was once owned by Abraham Joseph Wertheimer, who was a bibliophile. He collected various obscure texts and manuscripts and published many of them, including this manuscript, which in 1988 appeared under the title *Yalḳuṭ midreshe Teman ʻal Hamishah ḥumshe Torah* (Jerusalem: Ketav-yad ya-sefer). Afterwards Wertheimer sold the manuscript to the Toronto currency trader and bibliophile Dr. Albert D. Friedberg, who donated his collection of Hebrew manuscripts and early printed books to the Fisher Library.

The Qur'an's version of many biblical stories and characters includes diverse motifs and elements not found in the Hebrew Bible. However, many of those extra-biblical details appear in various Jewish midrashic and other early rabbinic texts, several predating the Qur'an. One example is found in the story of the Golden Calf, where in Sura 20:87, the people justify their actions by blaming the wealth and jewelry that God had bestowed onto them. This notion is not found in the Hebrew Bible, but in the Babylonian Talmud there is a midrash according to which Moses justified the actions of the people to God, saying that

the abundance of gold and silver that God had bestowed upon them led them to sin (*Berakhot* 32:1).[15] This same midrashic idea is repeated in our Yemenite compilation (leaf [75] recto).

(11) Serat Yusup. Java, c. 1800.

The well-known biblical story of Joseph, whose brothers sold him into slavery in Egypt, where he experienced many turns of fortune, is important in both the Bible (Genesis 37–50) and the Qur'an. In the Qur'an, the story appears in the twelfth surah, known as '*Surah Yusuf*', which is the only surah wholly devoted to one individual. Indeed, the Qur'an describes the surah as 'the best of stories', and it is the most detailed account of a prophet, consisting of more than a hundred verses. While the basic elements of the Qur'anic story are the same as the biblical version, there are important divergences. Many of the non-biblical elements in the Qur'anic version are, however, found in post-biblical Jewish traditions that predate Islam.

In the Qur'an, Yusuf is regarded as a prophet who promoted faith in Allah centuries before Muhammad and even before Moses. He is highly revered and noteworthy for his noble character, gentility, and intelligence. Similarly, in post-biblical and pre-Islamic Jewish traditions, Joseph is the only figure whose name is regularly accompanied by the cognomen '*ha-tsadik*' ('the righteous'; for example, in the Babylonian Talmud, Yoma 35b). One often-cited element of the Qur'an's Yusuf story which has interesting parallels in midrashic literature is the account of the attempted seduction of Yusuf. In the Qur'an, as in the Hebrew Bible, Yusuf's brothers plot against him and he is eventually sold into slavery to a wealthy Egyptian named Aziz (Potiphar in the Bible), who is kind to Yusuf and improves his status. However, soon Aziz's wife attempts to seduce Yusuf. Yusuf resists the seduction, and she accuses him of rape, eventually leading Aziz to imprison Yusuf, although in the Qur'anic version, Aziz knows that she is being deceitful and that Yusuf is just (whereas in the biblical version, Potiphar believes his wife). Yet, prior to his being sent to prison and at the point when Aziz accuses his wife of deceit, the Qur'an introduces an account not found in the biblical story. The women in the city gossiped about Aziz's wife's love for her slave boy and her attempt to seduce him, and when she learns of this gossip, she invites all the women to a banquet. At the banquet she gives each woman a knife and then calls Yusuf, and when they see him the women are so stunned by his beauty that they cut their hands without noticing. Thus, she reprimands them for criticizing her for being infatuated with him. A strikingly similar story appears in an early midrash (Tanḥumah, Va-Yeshev 5). That midrash says that at one time Egyptian women came to see Joseph's beauty, and Potiphar's wife gave them each a citron and a knife and then called Joseph to stand in front

of them. Once the women saw his beauty, they were so stunned that they cut their hands. Although this midrash reached its final form in the eighth century, it includes many significantly earlier elements, and it has been shown that this motif of the women cutting their hands appears in Aramaic poems that are found in the Cairo Genizah and date from the fourth or fifth centuries. Interestingly, while the Qur'anic version states only that the women are handed a knife and the knife's purpose is unclear, later Islamic sources say that they were also given citrons or other fruit to cut or peel (e.g., Jami [see below, item 12]), similar to the midrashic version. These later Islamic sources often also provide a name for Aziz's wife (which the Bible, the Qur'an, and the midrash do not): in most of them, her name is Zulaikha.[16]

The post-Qur'anic version of the Yusuf story was well known and popular among the Javanese, who knew it as *Serat Yusup*.[17] The manuscript on display here is one such example: this *Serat Yusup* was written in Javanese circa 1800. The Javanese language of this manuscript is transcribed in an Austronesian language and the script is a Brahmic or Indic script.

Egyptian women cut their hands at the sight of Yusuf's beauty.

Watercolour miniature in a 16th century manuscript from Iran of Jami's *Yusuf u Zulaykha*. Courtesy of the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Arthur M. Sackler Collection, Gift of Arthur M. Sackler, Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, S1986.55.1

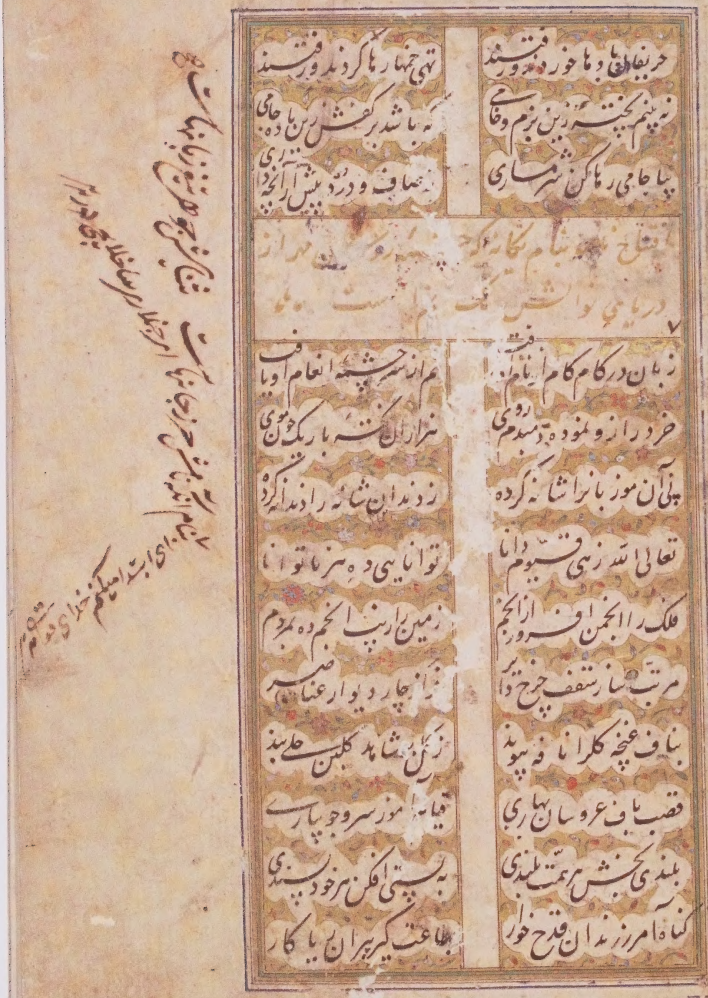
(12) Jāmī (1414–1492). Yūsuf va Zulaykhā. Persia, 945 AH [1538].

The Persian poet Jāmī is considered the last of the great Persian-language Sufi poets, following in the footsteps of Omar Khayyam, Fariddun Attar, Jalaluddin Rumi, Sa'dī of Shiraz, Shabistari, and Hafiz of Shiraz. As a poet-theologian, Jāmī influenced Ibn Arabi and Khwājagān Sufis, who formed a network of practitioners in Central Asia from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries. Jāmī lived his entire life in Herat, Afghanistan, making only two brief pilgrimages to Mashhad (in what is now Iran) and the Hejaz. Although Jāmī's fame as a scholar earned him the attention of Islamic rulers, he refused their offers of patronage and remained content to live as a simple scholar and mystic.

Jāmī's elegant and innovative poetry expressed his philosophical and ethical doctrines. His most famous collection of poetry is a seven-part compendium entitled *Haft Awrang* ('The Seven Thrones,' or 'Ursa Major'), which includes *Salmān o-Absāl* and *Yūsuf va Zulaykha,* a manuscript of which is displayed here. The collection is modelled on the works of the thirteenth-century poet Neẓāmī, but it is unmistakably original and demonstrates Jāmī's intellectual prowess. *Yusuf va Zulaykha* was originally composed in Herat for the sultan, Husayn Bayqara (1438–1506), in 888 AH (1483).

The storyline of *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* is similar to that of the Javanese manuscript *Serat Yusup* (item 11 above), recounting the biblical story of Yusuf and his brothers, with the post-Qur'anic elements added, such as the name of the Egyptian seductress, Zulaikha, and the fruit that was given to the women to cut, which in Jāmī's version is an orange. Jāmī's version adds another curious detail to the story, which is found in other post-Qur'anic Islamic versions: after being released from prison, Yusuf eventually married Zulaikha (in the Hebrew Bible he marries Asenath).

The manuscript here is transcribed and dated by the copyist, Shams al-Din 'Ali ibn Iskandar Haydar al-Astravābādī, to the last decade of Jamadā I, 945 AH, c. 15–21 October 1538. The text begins with an illuminated decorative headpiece, followed by two pages illuminated in gold. The rest of the manuscript is decorated with gold marginal rules, with some individual passages written in gold, and includes illuminated endpapers.



کتاب یوسف زلیخا

الهی غنچهٔ امید بگشای / گلی از روضهٔ جاوید بنمای
بخندان از لب آن غنچه باغم / وزان گل عطرپرور کن دماغم
درین محنت‌سرای بی‌مواسا / بنعمت‌های خویشم کن شناسا
ضمیرم را سپاس‌اندیشه گردان / زبانم را ستایش‌پیشه گردان
ز تقویم خرد بهروزیم بخش / ز اقلیم سخن فیروزیم بخش
دلی دادی ز گوهر گنج بر گنج / ز گنج دل زبانم کن گهرسنج
گشادی نافهٔ طبع مرا ناف / معطر کن ز مشکم قاف تا قاف
ز شعرم خامه را شکرزبان کن / ز عطرم نامه را عنبرفشان کن
سخن را خود سرانجامی نماندست / وزان نامه بجز نامی نماندست
درین حسنخانهٔ شیرین‌فسانه / نمی‌یابم صدایی جز آن ترانه

(13) Miscellany of Hebrew and Neo-Aramaic works. Tikhan Tepe (Iranian Azerbaijan), 674–688 [1914–1928].

This early twentieth-century manuscript includes a large number of texts in Hebrew and Neo-Aramaic (a dialect of Aramaic that emerged in the medieval period). These were copied by two different scribes, with the many colophons indicating that the two were probably father and son, Re'uven and Hilel ben (son of) Re'uven. The colophons also reveal that the various texts were copied in 1914 and between 1926 and 1928 in Tikhan Tepe, which is probably the Azerbaijani town known by that name, now in Iran's Azerbaijan province and called Takab. Aside from the colophons, the manuscript includes a few artistically framed pages with the scribe's name and the date.

Most of the texts are *targumim* or *tafsīrim* (translations) of biblical texts, namely Jonah, Shir Ha-shirim (Song of Songs), and many *haftaroth*, the portions from the books of the Prophets that are read every Shabbat following the weekly Torah portion. A work titled *Yosef ha-tsadik* ('Joseph the Righteous') appears twice, one in the hand of the father, Re'uven, and one in the hand of the son, Hilel. While the first *Yosef ha-tsadik* is complete, followed by a colophon stating so, the second is not and only repeats approximately the first half. While the parallel parts are mostly similar, there are some minor differences. This text, *Yosef ha-tsadik*, is a midrashic take on the story of Joseph and his brothers. Many of its midrashic elements are found in early midrashic texts, but some appear to derive from later Islamic traditions. In a noteworthy example, Potiphar's wife, who tried to seduce Joseph, is named Zelekhah and is described as beautiful. Neither detail is found in the Hebrew Bible or in extant early midrashim or the Qur'an, but both are included in later Islamic traditions such as Jami's *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* (item 12), in which Potiphar's wife is named Zulaikha and is said to be beautiful. These details appear in other late medieval or early modern Jewish texts, such as *Sefer Ha-Yashar* (probably composed in the late medieval period), presumably influenced by Islamic traditions.

מה מעשה הבנים והעבדים היו בבית עולם אלא
מיבני ושום אדם לא נשאר בבית בבלי
כאחד יחד ברוב בלי והלכו כולם לעבדה עושו
עד שהיה יום אחד מוקדם של משלחתו ובקבלו
נפרד מיבני
נכל ומה אדם לא שכב עשה כדי שעולם הבה יהיה
שנוי עשרה שבטים מיכיאן ליל אחד שכבו משה
מיד יצוה מן שטר לאבותיו ציוהו מאומה
בעת שהרים יוסף את עיניו ויפה של זילבה כיליה
חוצה בעיניהן כדי שלשה תרוצה כי נחבית יבוא בעיניה
בטרחיכם משבח תרים כי שבתך משבח לה
אמרה זילבה ליוסף מה תרצה בעולם כשנתנך
בבור מיד בנים מן ידיה לא מיכלה לוקיל בעוד
שהיו בנים קטן אחד ויוסף כידה לוקיל בעוד
אחר זילבה נעוים ועבדים וטפחות מן בלהה
מיבני כלנית בעוה עוד לדם לא שאר
מצרים אחד מן כל
אחר זילבה נעוים ועבדים וטפחות מן בלהה
תקף לא לילה לבה חוץ הבן בליל התחילו
בלילה שאר מן יוסף שאר בלהה כדי נעלה
משלחה נשמו כיתה ולמרה להם לבן בליל מן
לאל עשאה בעוה בחוץ בבית מיבני
פוכיפך בלמיין שיבני בעשאה מהם לא זילף

II

RELIGIOUS LAW (HALAKHAH / ḤADĪTH)

Case 3

باب سمع البراء قال سمعت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يقرأ بالتين والزيتون
في العشاء وما سمعت احدا احسن صوتا منه او قراءة باب
يطول في الاولين ويحذف في الاخريين حدثنا مسلم بن حرب
قال ثنا شعبة عن ابي عون قال سمعت جابر بن سمرة قال قال عمر رضي
الله عنه لسعد رضي الله عنه لقد شكوك في كل شيء حتى الصلاة قال اما
انا فامد في الاولين واحذف في الاخريين ولا الو ما اقتديت به من
صلاة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال صدقت ذاك الظن بك او ظني
بك باب القراءة في الفجر وقالت ام سلمة رضي الله عنها قراءة
النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بالطور حدثنا ادم قال ثنا شعبة قال
ثنا سيار بن سلامة قال دخلت انا وابي على ابي برزة الاسلمي فسالناه
عن وقت الصلاة فقال كان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يصلي الظهر حين
تزول الشمس والعصر ويرجع الرجل الى اقصى المدينة والشمس حية
ونسيت ما قال في المغرب ولا يبالي بتاخير العشاء الى ثلث الليل
ولا يحب النوم قبلها ولا الحديث بعدها ويصلي الصبح فينصرف
الرجل فيعرف جليسه وكان يقرا في الركعتين او احداهما ما بين
الستين الى المائة حدثنا مسدد قال ثنا اسمعيل بن ابرهيم قال اخبرنا
ابن جريج قال اخبرني عطاء انه سمع ابا هريرة يقول في كل صلاة يقرا
فما اسمعنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم اسمعناكم وما اخفى عنا
اخفينا عنكم وان لم يزد على ام القرآن اجزات وان زدت فهو خير

الصلوات

قال ان ام الفضل سمعته وهو يقرا والمرسلات عرفا فقالت يا بني والله
لقد ذكرتني بقراءتك هذه السورة انها لاحر ما سمعت النبي صلى الله
عليه وسلم يقرا بها في المغرب حدثنا ابو عاصم عن ابن جريج عن ابن
ابي مليكة عن عروة ابن الزبير عن مروان بن الحكم قال قال لي زيد بن
ثابت مالك تقرا في المغرب بقصار المفصل وقد سمعت رسول الله
صلى الله عليه وسلم يقرا فيها بطولى الطوليين باب الجهر في المغرب
حدثنا عبد الله بن يوسف قال اخبرنا مالك عن ابن شهاب عن محمد
ابن جبير بن مطعم عن ابيه قال سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
قرا في المغرب بالطور باب الجهر في العشاء حدثنا ابو النعمان
قال ثنا معتمر عن ابيه عن بكر عن ابي رافع صليت مع ابي هريرة العتمة
فقرا اذا السما انشقت فسجد فقلت له قال سجدت خلف ابي القاسم
صلى الله عليه وسلم فلا ازال اسجد بها حتى القاه حدثنا ابو الوليد قال
ثنا شعبة عن عدي قال سمعت البرا يقول ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم
كان في سفر فقرا في العشا في احدى الركعتين بالتين والزيتون
باب القراءة في العشا بالسجدة حدثنا مسدد قال ثنا يزيد بن
زريع قال ثنا التيمي عن بكر عن ابي رافع قال صليت مع ابي هريرة العتمة
فقرا اذا السما انشقت فسجد فقلت ما هذه قال سجدت بها خلف ابي
القاسم صلى الله عليه وسلم فلا ازال اسجد فيها حتى القاه باب
القراءة في العشا حدثنا خلاد بن يحيى قال ثنا مسعر قال ثنا عدي بن

(14) Bukhārī, Muḥammad ibn Ismāʻīl (810–870). Al-Juz' al-awwal min al-Bukhārī. 833 AH [1429 or 1430].

Muhammad al-Bukhārī, who was born in the city of Bukhara in greater Khorasan (modern-day Uzbekistan) to the son of a Zoroastrian Magi, began studying *ḥadīth* in 821. He is widely viewed as the most important scholar in the history of Sunni Islam, and his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (or 'Authentic') is considered, alongside *Ṣaḥīḥ* Muslim, to be one of the most authentic collections of *ḥadīth* and the most important work in Sunni Islam after the Qur'an. Buhkārī's collection of *ḥadīth* (a report of the sayings or actions of Muhammad and his companions, together with the tradition of its chain of transmission) consists of an estimated 7,563 *ḥadīth* narrations over ninety-seven chapters covering *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), among other topics. Each chapter references relevant Qur'anic verses and supplies proper Islamic guidance in all aspects of Muslim life.

Bukhārī imposed four conditions for a narrator of *ḥadīth* in order for the narration to be included in his work: the narrator must be just; the narrator must possess a strong memory, and scholars with robust knowledge of *ḥadīth* must agree that the narrator can learn and memorize; the *ḥadīth* must have a complete *isnad*—authentication by a chain of human reporters from the time of Muhammad as legitimate sayings and acts of the prophet; and the consecutive narrators in the chain must meet each other.

Bukhārī completed the book in Bukhara in 846 (232 AH). After writing it, he showed it to his teachers, including Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (780–855), who founded the Hanbali school of Islamic jurisprudence, for examination and verification. They testified to the collection's authenticity except for four *ḥadīth*, which were eventually also agreed to be authentic. Bukhārī recited the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to his students, who listened and memorized the *ḥadīth* and then copied it out in its entirety. Students then verified their copies against Bukhārī's personal copy, receiving permission to transmit the *ḥadīth* only if he was content that they were able to do so. Nonetheless, scholars of the *Ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth* have noted several contradictions and errors, and instances of incomplete reporting, reporting out of context, and discrepancies (such as, for example, the timing of *Laylat al-Qadr*, or 'Night of Power' marked towards the end of Ramadan).

The oldest full manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is dated to 550 AH (1155) and is housed in the library of the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul. The manuscript exhibited here is dated 833 AH (1429 or 1430).

(15) Moses Maimonides (1138–1204). Mishneh Torah: Sefer hafla'ah. Yemen, 1809 [1498].

Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon, known also as Maimonides or by the acronym Rambam, is considered the greatest Jewish scholar of the medieval period. Born in Cordoba, Spain, he lived in Fustat (Cairo) for most of his adult life, where he served as the physician of the Sultan. Maimonides' thought was influenced by Classical Greek philosophy as well as more recent Islamic thinkers such as al-Farabi, Ibn Sina (Avicenna), and Ibn Rushd (Averroes). His works, in turn, also had a significant influence on Christian and Islamic thinkers and writers.

Maimonides' codification of *halakhah* (Jewish religious law), which is called *Mishneh Torah* ('Repetition of the Torah'), is the only work he originally wrote in Hebrew. He composed his other writings in Arabic. The *Mishneh Torah* became very influential in medieval Judaism and beyond. Still widely studied today, it was mostly superseded by the *Shulḥan Arukh* of Rabbi Yosef Karo (1488–1575). However, for Yemenite Jews it has remained authoritative to this day.

This codex contains the sixth of the fourteen books of the *Mishneh Torah*. This one, *Sefer hafla'ah* ('Book of Asservations'), discusses such topics as vows and oaths and Nazirites. This manuscript was copied in Yemen in 1498. Yemenite Jews continued to copy texts by hand well into the twentieth century, but this is a rare case of a manuscript surviving from the medieval period.

(16) Yakov ben Asher (c. 1270–1340). *Arba'ah Ṭurim*. Constantinople: David and Shemu'el ibn Naḥmi'aś, 5254 [1493].

The *Arba'ah Ṭurim* (literally 'four rows') is another very important codification of Jewish law. It was composed by Yakov ben Asher, a Spanish scholar, and is the forerunner of sorts of the sixteenth-century *Shulhan Arukh*, which is still the standard law code to this day. It was the first book printed in the entire Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman authorities forbade printing of Arabic or Islamic materials, and thus it took a few more centuries for the printing press to be adopted by Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.

Given that the next book to be produced by this press was published only in 1505, many scholars have felt that the date in the colophon must be an error and have suggested dating it to 1503 rather than 1493. However, current scholarly opinion favours the earlier publication date of 1493 in spite of that gap.

The printers of this book were David and Samuel Ibn Nahmias. They used typographical material from Hijar in Spain and from Naples and printed on paper that came from Italy. Therefore, it seems that they may have been among the Jewish refugees fleeing Spain owing to the expulsion of 1492, and that they stayed for a brief time in Naples.[18]

במז״ל כתב שאין מבטלין האבילות ומ״מ אין אבלות נוהג׳
בהם לא בי״ד ולא בטו׳ אלא דברים שבצנעה ולאחר שיתפ
ש תפלה בבית האבל בליל פורים ילך לבית הכנס׳ לשמוע
מקרא מגילה וחייב לשלוח מנות וא״ע פ שאינו מתאבל ב
בהן עולין לו ומשל׳ אבילו׳ אחר כך ויש אומרים שלא ילך
לבית הכנסת אלא יקרא המגילה בביתו וכן חתן
לא ילך לבית הכנסת אלא יקרא בביתו וא״א ז״ל
כת׳ כדברי הר״ס במז״ל **תרסז**
יום י״ד וט״ו שבאדר׳
הראשון מותרין בהספד ובתעני׳
דהא דאמרינן דיום י״ד וט״ו
דאד׳ הראשון והשני
שוין בהספד
ותענית
היינו
דוקא
כשקראו המגילה וכו ביום כראוי להם לעבר השנה אבל
אם לא קראו המגילה מותרין בהספד ותענית וכם׳ ת׳ כ
כתב שאסורין בהספד ותענית בכל השנים
אע״פ שלא קראו המגילה וכן יראה מ
מדברי הר״ס במז״ל וכן כתב הרי״ף
ז״ל שצריך להרבות
בו בסעוד׳
בי״ד
אבל בטו׳ כתב שאין צריך להרבות בו בסעודה וא״א הרא״ש
כתב כסברא ראשונה

נשלם הטור האחד
שבח לאל המיוחד

صلوات الله وسلامه عليه على سائر النبيين وآل كل وسائر الصالحين

أما بعد فقد قال الله العظيم العزيز الحكيم فاذكروني أذكركم
وقال تعالى وما خلقت الجن والانس إلا ليعبدون فعلم بهذا أن
من افضل وافضل حال العبد حال ذكر ربه العالمين واشتغاله
بالاذكار الواردة عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم سيما وقد
وقد صنف العلماء رضي الله عنهم في عمل اليوم والليلة والدعوات
والاذكار كتبا كثيرة معلومة عند العارفين لكنها معوقة بالاسانيد
والتكرير فضعفت عنها همم الطالبين فقصدت تسهيل ذلك على
الراغبين فشرعت في جمع هذا الكتاب مختصرا مقاصد ما ذكرته تقريبا
للمتعبدين واحذف الاسانيد في معظمه لما ذكرته من ايثار الاختصار
ولكونه اسهل للمتعبدين وليسوا الى معرفة الاسناد مطلعين بل
يكرهونه وان قصر الا الاوحدين ولان المقصود به معرفة الاذكار
والعمل بها وايضاح مظانها للمسترشدين واذكر ان شاء الله تعالى
بدلا من الاسانيد ما هو اهم منها مما يخل به غالبا وهو بيان صحيح الاحاديث
وحسنها وضعيفها ومنكرها فانه مما يفتقر الى معرفته جميع الناس
الا النادر من المحدثين وهذا اهم مما يجب الاعتناء به ومما يحققه
الطالب من جهة الحفاظ المتقنين والائمة الحذاق المعتمدين
واضم اليه ان شاء الله تعالى الكريم جملا من النفايس من علم الحديث
ودقايق الفقه ومهمات القواعد ورياضات النفوس ه

كتاب الاذكار للامام الهمام قدوة ائمة الاعلام شيخ المذهب ابي زكريا
يحيى النواوي رضي الله عنه وارضاه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الواحد القهار العزيز الغفار مقدر الاقدار مصرف
الامور مكور الليل على النهار تبصرة لاولي القلوب والابصار
الذي ايقظ من خلقه من اصطفاه فادخله في جملة الاخيار
ووفق من اجتباه من عبيده فجعله من الابرار وبصر من
احبه فزهدهم في هذه الدار فاجتهدوا في مرضاته والتاهب
لدار القرار واجتناب ما يسخطه والحذر من عذاب النار
واخذوا من انفسهم بالجد في طاعته وملازمة ذكره بالعشي
والابكار وعند تغاير الاحوال وجميع آناء الليل والنهار فاستنارت
قلوبهم بلوامع الانوار احمده ابلغ الحمد على جميع نعمه واسئله المزيد
من فضله وكرمه واشهد ان لا اله الا الله العظيم الواحد الصمد
العزيز الحكيم واشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله وصفيه وحبيبه
وخليله افضل المخلوقين واكرم السابقين واللاحقين

صلوات الله

(17) Nawawi (1233–1277). Kitāb al-Adhkār. 1217 AH [1802 or 1803].

Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyá ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī, known commonly as al-Nawawī, was a Sunni Shafiite scholar who wrote on *ḥadīth*, theology, biography, and jurisprudence. He was born in Nawa, near Damascus, and moved to Damascus at the age of eighteen. Nawawī was a prolific writer, authoring at least fifty books before he died at the age of forty-five. The *Shafi'i* school, or Shafi'ism, which was widely followed in the Middle East until the rise of the Ottomans and the Safavids, is one of the four major schools of Islamic jurisprudence within Sunni Islam. It was founded by the Muslim scholar, jurist, and traditionist al-Shafi'i, 'the father of Muslim jurisprudence', in the early ninth century.

Nawawī's most famous book is 'The Forty Hadiths', a collection of forty-two fundamental *ḥadīth*, and his *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn* is a classical manual on *Shafi'i* Islamic law. The *Shafi'i* school of Islamic jurisprudence upholds the authority of both divine lawgiving (the Qur'an and the Sunnah) and human interpretation regarding the law. If passages in the Qur'an and/or the *hadīth* are ambiguous, then *qīyās* (or analogical reasoning) can be employed. (Similarly, rabbinic Judaism upholds the essential value and necessity of human interpretation regarding biblical law). Local traditions could not be accepted as sources of law, and the school stressed that doctrines based neither on the Qur'an or *ḥadīth*, but rather on the opinions of Islamic scholars, were not valid.

The manuscript of Nawawī's *Kitāb al-Adhkār* (Book of Remembrances), presented here, was transcribed in 1217 AH (1802 or 1803), and is a collection of the supplications of the prophet Muḥammad.

III

ISLAMIC AND JEWISH PHILOSOPHY, MEDICINE, AND SCIENCE

Case 4

(18) Averroes (Ibn Rushd) (1126–1198). *Eutyci Augustini Niphi ... In librū Destructio destructionum Auerrois cōmentarij.* Languedoc, France: Jacques Giunta, 1542.

The Andalusian polymath Ibn Rushd, often known in the West by his Latinized name Averroes, is most noted for being a strong proponent of the teachings of the Greek philosopher Aristotle. He was opposed to the Neoplatonist thought of earlier Muslim thinkers who were influenced by monism (the doctrine that all of reality stems from a single principle), such as Avicenna. Averroes argued that philosophy should be used in Islam and, in contrast to earlier Muslim thinkers, that scriptural text can be interpreted allegorically if the scripture contradicts reason and philosophical inquiry.

In his most famous title displayed here, translated into English as *The Incoherence of Incoherence*, Ibn Rushd defends Aristotelean thought and contends that Aristotle's philosophy is compatible within Islamic thought and that there can be an accord between religious belief and philosophy. *The Incoherence of the Incoherence* is a response to the Sufi-influenced al-Ghazali, who denounced Neoplatonist Islamic philosophers such as Ibn Sina and al-Farabi. Al-Ghazali argued that one must be acquainted with the works of the philosophers to counter their arguments and contended that philosophers did not apply the same rules to metaphysics as they did to other sciences like physics, logic, mathematics, and astronomy. In *The Incoherence of Incoherence*, Ibn Rushd quotes passages by al-Ghazali and then responds to them. In doing so, he argues that there is no contradiction between Aristotle's ideas and philosophy and between Aristotelean thought and the Qur'an.

Ibn Rushd's philosophical writings were well received in Europe by both Jewish and Christian scholars, and many of his commentaries were translated into Latin (as seen in this 1542 edition from Languedoc, France) and Hebrew. He influenced many Jewish authors, including the Jewish thinker Maimonides who acknowledged his debt to Ibn Rushd.[19] Indeed, Ibn Rushd's translations of Aristotle spurred a renewed interest in Greek philosophy, which had largely been abandoned in Europe for many centuries. However, 'Averroist' doctrines such as his supposition that all human beings share the same intellect were denounced by the Catholic Church in 1270 and 1277 and were further debilitated after condemnations by Thomas Aquinas. Nonetheless, his thought continued to be influential.

EVTYCI AVGVSTINI NIPHI PHIlothei Sueſſani in librũ DESTRVCTIO DESTRVCTIONVM Auerrois Cõmentarij, quos adhibita omni lucerna nitidos, & à quacunq; macula ieiunos comperies. Eiuſdem Auguſtini Codicillus de Senſu agente.

LVGD. APVD IACOBVM GIVNCTAM.
M D. XLII.

ונשלם זה הביאור והיתה השלמתו בחדש
אייר לט׳ לספירה של
שנת יעזוך ותשעים ושש לבריאת העולם הטשי״

והתהלה לאל לבדו

אמר בן רשד הכוונה במאמר שנביא מדברי המפרשים בהרכבת הנפש
וכו׳ ואין אחד מהם נפש והם כחבורים ימצא הנפש
ר״ל שכבר התבאר שם שההיולי אי אפשר שיפרד מהצורות הבאות עליו זו
אחר זו מן הצורה אי אפשר שתמצא מופשטת ההיולי כי הצורה היא שלמות
ההיולי ולא יפרד השלמות ממה שהיא לו שלמות ולזה הוא מבואר שלא ימצא
אחד מהמשמשים ההווים הנפסדים חומר לבד או צורה לבד והם כחבורים ימ
ימצא הנפש · והתבאר שם כי ההיולי ר״ל הנושא בלתי מצוייר בעצמותו כי
אין לו גדר אבל יצוייר אם כיחס כלו יאמר אשר יחסו אל הדברים ההווים
הנפסדים חומר לבד הענין אשר כבר אל · כשנאמר שהיא הנושא המ
המשותף לכל הדברים ההווים הנפסדים אין בו דבר מן הטבע ואין לו צורה
מיוחדת ושאר מה שנאמר בזה הוא בראשון מהשמע״ ואיננו נמצא בפועל
ושהמציאות אשר ייוחס לו אמנם הוא לו מצד מה שהוא בכחו לקבל כל הצורות
ובזה יתחלף מן החומר המיוחד וזה כי החומר הנה בכחו לקבל הצורה
המיוחדת ·· לא שקבלה עצמו ·· ר״ל וזה כי הכח הוא מה שיצטרך אל נושא
אבל שזה הכח נמשך לו ר״ל מתחבר לו · ושאר מה שאמר עליו מהמשמשים הנמ
הנמצאים בפועל שהם כחם אל דבר אמנם נאמר בהם מצד החומר · ר״ל ואמנ
והמשל שאמרנו בנחושת שהוא ודליש בכח הוא מצד החומר לא במה שהוא נחושת
ורמוז אליו וזה כבר בראשון מהשמע · והתבאר גם כן בספר השמע כי כאשר
חוברו הכח והפועל בדבר שהכח הוא מצד החומר והפועל הוא מצד הצורה לפי
שהוא בלתי אפשר שימצא להם הכח מצד מה שהם נמצאים בו בפועל בעצמותו
והאשוטו · כי הנה הכח והפועל הם סותרים · והסותרים לא יחוברו בנושא
לא בשני צדדין ·· והתבאר גם כן שם כי זה החומר הראשון אי אפשר בו שתשלל
ממנו הצורה · ר״ל אם תשלל ממנו היה מה שלא ימצא בפועל נמצא בפועל

(19) Levi ben Gershom (Gersonides) (1288–1344). Be'ur ha-Ralbag la-Be'ur ha-ḳatsar shel Ibn Rushd la-ketavim shel Aristo. Southern Italy?, 5195–5196 [1435–1436].

The philosophical text preserved in this manuscript is a commentary on the short commentary on the writings of Aristotle (384–322 BCE) by the Muslim Andalusian philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroes). Averroes's writings and thought were very influential on medieval Christian and Jewish thought.

The text is by the important medieval Franco-Jewish scholar, philosopher, and rabbi Levi ben Gershom, often known as Gersonides or by the acronym RaLBaG (for Rabbi Levi ben Gershom). Gersonides composed important commentaries on many of the books of the Bible, but his renown owes to his innovative philosophical ideas and writings. His most important philosophical work is the *Milḥamot Hashem* ('Wars of the Lord'). Gersonides was a radical rationalist. He 'upholds the primacy of reason' and even argues that 'if reason causes us to affirm doctrines that are incompatible with the literal sense of Scripture, we are not prohibited by the Torah to pronounce the truth on these matters, for reason is not incompatible with the true understanding of the Torah.'[20] This notion was, perhaps not surprisingly, rejected by many later Jewish rabbis and philosophers, and his philosophy was widely criticized (in contrast with his biblical commentaries, which were accepted and still hold a central place in Jewish learning).[21]

Gersonides' supercommentaries on Aristotle's works, which took him four years to compose, were probably the first works of this kind by a Jewish philosopher. In these commentaries, Gersonides focuses on philosophical issues alone, not on issues of religion nor on the relationship between religion and philosophy.[22] Moreover, in his commentaries 'Gersonides expresses his own ideas and does not restrict himself to explaining Averroes and Aristotle'. Rather, 'he employs the supercommentaries as an occasion to practice philosophy and to add his own contributions to the history of thought'.[23]

This Friedberg Collection manuscript contains Gersonides' supercommentaries on Aristotle's *Physics*, *On the Heavens*, *On Generation and Corruption*, *Meteorology*, and *On the Soul*. The manuscript comprises three volumes written on paper in a Sephardic hand and is possibly from southern Italy. It is dated in two colophons to 1435 and 1436 respectively.

(20) Yehuda ha-Levi (c. 1075–1141). *Kuzari*. Venice: Me'ir ben Ya'aḳov Parentsoni, 5307 [1546 or 1547].

Rabbi Yehudah (Judah) Halevi was born in Tudela, Spain, then under Muslim rule. Like many of the great Jewish scholars of the Golden Age of Spanish Jewry, Halevi was a polymath. He was a rabbi, philosopher, physician, and one of the greatest Hebrew poets, authoring over eight hundred poems, both religious and secular. However, as the situation of Jews in Spain was becoming more unstable, Halevi eventually decided to emigrate to the Holy Land. He left by way of Egypt, and it is unclear if he made it there before he died in July 1141.

Halevi is most known for this book, which was written at a time of religious conflict and when the position of the Jews was becoming more precarious from both Christians and Muslims. The 'Book of Refutation and Proof on Behalf of the Despised Religion' (Arabic: *Kitâb al-ḥujja wa'l-dalîl fi naṣr al-dîn al-dhalîl*), which came to be known as *Sefer ha-Kuzari* ('Book of the Kazar'), was written in Judeo-Arabic and was intended to be a philosophical defence of Judaism. Halevi adopted a novel approach to make his case: he used the story of the conversion to Judaism of the Khazar king and his kingdom some four hundred years earlier as the setting for his treatise. The Khazars were a Turkic people, and the Khazar kingdom encompassed land in the region of the Black and Caspian seas, including Crimea.

In Halevi's treatise, the Khazar king summons a philosopher, a Christian scholar, and a Muslim scholar, one after the other, to inquire about their beliefs and practices. He does not invite a Jewish scholar, supposing that the Jews' small numbers, dreadful condition, and the contempt in which they are held by all prove against their religion. However, unconvinced by these three and given that both the Christian scholar and the Muslim scholar present their respective religions as the culmination of a prophetic tradition going back to the experiences of biblical Israel, the king decides to summon a Jewish scholar. A long dialogue ensues, in which the king is convinced by the Jewish scholar's arguments. He converts to Judaism, works to convert most of the Khazar people, and continues his education in Judaism with the scholar until the latter leaves for the Holy Land.

It has been shown that Halevi's writings and thought were significantly influenced by and contended with Arab and Islamic terminology and philosophy. He was influenced by the Sufi stream in Islam and by such thinkers as Ibn Sina and Al-Farabi.[24]

(21) Avicenna (Ibn Sina) (980–1037). *Kutub al-qānūn fī al-ṭibb*. Rome: Typographia Medicea, 1593.

The philosopher and physician Ibn Sina, commonly known in the West as Avicenna, was born to a Persian family in what is now Uzbekistan. Educated in the city of Bukhara, Ibn Sina followed the Ḥanafi sect of Islam. At an early age, he became learned in the Greek sciences. As a philosopher, Avicenna wrote in Arabic on subjects such as logic, ethics, and metaphysics. His often-critical commentaries on Aristotle placed him at odds with the later philosopher Ibn Rushd, who admired Aristotelian thought. In contrast, Ibn Sina was a Neoplatonist, guided by the philosophy that the first principle and source of reality is beyond being and human thinking, and is ultimately beyond understanding. Ibn Sina's Neoplatonic thought became fundamental to *kalām* in the twelfth century. Neoplatonism had also become a major influence in Christianity during Late Antiquity and the medieval period, especially in the East. Ibn Sina's reception among Jewish thinkers was mixed. The Jewish theologian Maimonides considered Ibn Sina's thought to be inferior to that of the Islamic scholar al-Farabi, but nonetheless worthy of study. A similar view was expressed by the Spanish Jewish thinker Shem-Tob ibn Falaquera (c. 1225–1295).

Ibn Sina's medical works were very influential, and the *Kutub al-qanun fi al-tibb*, or the 'Canon of Medicine', is considered the greatest of his literary productions. This five-volume encyclopedia was used as the standard medical reference work in the Islamic world and in Europe up to the eighteenth century. Several Hebrew translations were produced in the

medieval period (see next title), and Jewish scholars wrote many commentaries on the work. Ibn Sina's other medical writings were also translated into Hebrew, and his medical works were widely used by Jewish physicians in Europe.

Around sixty editions of the 'Canon of Medicine', or parts of it, were published between 1500 and 1674. All were in Latin, apart from the one Arabic edition on display here, which was published in Rome in 1593.[25] This volume contains some handwritten annotations in Arabic.

كتاب النجاة

مختصر الشفا لابن سينا

اللغة العربية في ابوابه الا ان قوما من اشرفوا علي نقلي سالوني نقله لينتفع به في غير هذا الكتاب * القسط عند الشعوب التي تخاطب باللسان اليوناني معروف فاما الكيل فليس جميعهم متفقين عليه وذلك ان بعضهم يستعمل غير الذي استعمله صاحبه * والقسط عند الروم تسع رطل ونصف وسدس فيكون عشرين اوقية والقسط الانطاليقي رطل ونصف والرطل اثنتي عشرة اوقية والمن الرومي عشرون اوقية والمن الانطاليقي والمصري ست عشرة اوقية والمن يكون اربعين استارا والرطل عشرين استارا والاستار ستة دراهم ودانقان وهو اربعة مثاقيل * الدرخمي مثقال الدورق الانطاليقي يكون ثمنية جواهين • والجوهين ستة اقساط رومية * القوطولي سبع اواقي * مسطرون الكبير ثلث اواقي * مسطرون الصغير ست درخميات * اكسونافن ثمنية عشر درخمي * قواثوس • اوقية ونصف * غرما ما بين ربع درهم الي الدانقين او دونه * اونقوش اوقية واحدة وكل واحد منها سبع مثاقيل * اون اوقية * ايان العسل رطلان ونصف * ايان الدهن منا ونصف * الدورق ثلثة ارطال * قسط العسل رطلان ونصف * الهامين خمسة اساتير وعشرون درهما واربعة اوبولوا * الباقلاة الواحدة المصرية اربع شامونات * اوبولوا دانق ونصف كل وجس الاسكندراني ثلثة اوبولوا * البندقة الواحدة درخمية واحدة * الجوزة اربعة عشر شامونا * الصدفة الصغيرة سبع شامونات الصدفة الكبيرة اربع عشرة شامونة * الباقلاة اليونانية شامونيان واوبولوين * السكرجة ستة اساتير وربع * ملعقة العسل اربعة مثاقيل * ملعقة الادوية مثقال واحد ودرهم * النبطل استاران * الدرخمي ست اوبولات كل اوبولوا ثلثة قراريط كل قيراط اربع شعيرات الثلث اوبولات تسعة قراريط القواثوس اوقية ونصف

مالي هو العسل * مالي قراطون • هو ما العسل وربما كتبوه ما لقراطي او ما لقراطن * افومالي هو ما يمرس فيه الشهد ويحتفظ به غير مطبوخ * اوذرومالي هو عسل وما المطر المعتق مناصفه بشمس * الشراب المعسل هو متخذ من عصير العنب الذي فيه قبض خمسة اجزا ومن العسل جز واحد يلقي ذلك في انا اوسع مما يملا به ليتسع لغليانهما ويلقي عليهما ملح قليلا قليلا حتي تنقذف الرغوة فاذا سكن الغليان رفع في الخوابي * شراب العسل شراب عتيق قابض جزان عسل جيد جزء واحد يخزن في انا ويترك حتي يدرك * الطلا يتخذ بان يترك العنب في كرمة بعد ان ينضج زمانا يسيرا او يقطع العنب النضج ويشمس ثم يعصر ويطبخ • اكسومالي هو السكنجبين المتخذ من الخل والعسل والما وقد يضيف اليه قوم ما البحر او ملحه ومن جملة نسخ ذلك خل خمس قوطولي والقوطولي سبع اواقي ومن ملح البحر منوين ومن العسل عشرة امنا ومن الما عشر قوطولات يغلي عشر غليات ويرفع * اوكسالي خل يخلط بها الملح * روذومالي شراب يتخذ بعصارة الورد مع عسل *

تم كتاب الاقراباذين وبتمامه تمت الكتب الخمسة المشتملة علي القانون والحمد لله رب العالمين

(22) Avicenna (Ibn Sina) (980–1037). *Canon medicinae de Avicena.* Madrid: A. y N. ediciones, 2002.

The acceptance and popularity of Avicenna's 'Canon of Medicine' in the West led to its wide dissemination and translation into Latin (as early as the twelfth century). It was also widely accepted among Jews of Western Europe. Several translations into Hebrew were completed during the medieval period, from at least the mid-thirteenth century, making Hebrew the only language in the West, other than Latin, in which a complete translation was made. In fact, more than one hundred Hebrew manuscripts of the 'Canon' have survived, and an incunable Hebrew edition published in Naples in 1491–1492 is the first medical text in Hebrew ever printed (a copy is held at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library).

The book shown is a facsimile of a manuscript held at the library of the University of Bologna (ms. 2197). The manuscript was produced in the mid-fifteenth century and includes the translation completed in 1279 by the Italian Nathan ha-Me'ati. This magnificent volume is splendidly decorated with ten large miniatures and nearly five hundred pages decorated with a wealth of floral borders, animal miniatures, zodiac signs, and golden frames with sophisticated flower motifs. Seen here (leaf 492 recto) is an illustration of a scene in an apothecary that is open to the street. The plant border decoration is in the same style as that found throughout most of the manuscript, and the vignettes to the left and at the bottom illustrate various medical and hygienic practices.[26]

אחרון [illegible]
[illegible]
תרותיב [illegible]

לכב [illegible]
[illegible]
ומיעוג [illegible]

הספר החמשי [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

אמר

המחבר

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

IV

ISLAMIC AND JEWISH MYSTICISM (SUFISM AND THE KABBALAH)

Case 5

(23) Sefer ha-Zohar. Crete, 15th century.

The Zohar is the central work of the Kabbalah—Jewish mysticism. Traditionally attributed to the Tanna Rabbi Shimeon bar Yoḥai (*tannaim* were rabbis of Mishnaic times to 230 CE), it is believed to have actually been composed in the medieval period. It is a commentary on the Torah and includes many stories.

This manuscript on vellum was copied by Shabbetai Balbo on the island of Crete in the early fifteenth century. It is one of the earliest near-complete manuscripts of the Zohar in existence and therefore of supreme importance.

But this manuscript is important and intriguing in another significant way. On the first extant page, there is a marginal note documenting the manuscript's ownership history. The first of the four owners mentioned in this note is the famous false messiah of the seventeenth century, Shabbetai Tsevi (1626–1676). The Sabbatean movement emerged in Turkey in 1665, when Shabbetai Tsevi was declared to be the messiah by his 'prophet' Nathan of Gaza (c. 1643–1680). Many Jews worldwide followed Tsevi and believed in his messiahship. However, most of them had their hopes crushed when, in 1666, the Sultan Mehmed IV forced Tsevi to choose between death and converting to Islam and Tsevi chose the latter. Nevertheless, some continued to believe in him and some even followed him in converting to Islam. This latter group came to be known as the *Dönme*, a messianic crypto Judeo-Islamic sect that survives in small numbers to this day. Some well-educated community members played important roles in modernizing the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[27]

באמרו שמע ישראל ה' אלהינו עד סופו · ותראה היאך נעתקו בו ד
דברים מענין לענין וכלל עשרה ענינים כנגד עשרת הדברים והוא
שצונו להאמין בבורא ית' באמרו שמע ישראל ה' אלקינו ה' אחד ול
לא יתכוין בכאן באמרו שמע ישראל לשמע האזן · אך התבונן
והתכוון לאמונת הלב כמו שאמר הכתוב נעשה ונשמע · ושמעת
ישראל ושמרת לעשות וגו' וכל מה שבא על הדרך הזה בלשון שמע
לא יתכוין בו כי אם להאמין ולקבל · ואחר אשר חייבנו לה האמין
באמתת מציאותו חייבנו להאמין שהוא אלהינו כמו שאמר אלהינו
ואחר כן חייבנו להאמין כי הוא אחד כמו שאמר ה' אחד · ואחר
שחייבנו להאמין ולקבל שלשת הענינים האלה אשר זכרנו · נעתק
מהם אל מה שאנו חייבין לחבר אליהם והוא אהבת האל בלב שלם
בסתר ובגלוי בנפשנו ובמאדנו כמו שאמר ואהבת את ה' אלהיך
בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך ובכל מאדך · ואני עתיד לבאר הענין הזה ב
בשער אהבתו בעזר ה' ואחר כן נעתק מהם להזהיר על חובת
הלבבות באמרו והיו הדברים האלה אשר אנכי וגו' רוצה לומר
שתזכירם אל לבך ותאמין בם במצפונך ואחר כן נעתק מהם א
אל מצות האברים שהם כוללים הידיעה והעשייה · כמו שאמר
ושננתם לבניך ודברת בם שאם לא יהיה לך בן יש"ל תשים הבן על
קריאתך אותה · ואחר כן אמ' בשבתך בביתך ובלכתך בדרך וב
ובשכבך ובקומך · שאין למנוע מן הלב ומן הלשון מה שהם חייבין
בו כמו שאפשר לימנע משאר האברים כאשר הקדמנו מחיוב מצ
מצות הלבבות תדיר בפתיחת הספר הזה וכל ~~מה שבא~~ זה להזהיר על
מה שהקדים מאמ' והיו הדברים האלה אשר אנכי מצוך היום על
לבבך · שתהיה רגילות לשונו בהם תמיד מביאה לידי זכרון הלב ו
ולא יפנה לבבו מזכר האלהי' תמיד וזה דומה למה שאמ' דוד עליו
השלום שויתי ה' לנגדי תמיד · ואמר הכתוב כי קרוב אליך הדבר
מאד בפיך ובלבבך לעשותו · ואחר כן נעתק לחובת האברים אל מה שיש בו מעשה ב
ואמר וקשרתם לאות על ידך והיו לטוטפות בין עיניך וכתבתם
על מזוזות ביתך ובשעריך והט

מה גדי ומה בא"ת
חייב בקריאתה

ודברי הקדמונים ויזהר ליהנות בו בעניני העולם ויביא ראיה
ממנה לרדוף אחרי התאוה ולהניח דרך הפרישות ולעשות כרצ
איש ואיש כדעתם וכחפצם והוא כמו שאמ׳ הכתו׳ הוא ימות באש
מוסר וברוב אולתו ישגה · בחון אחי המשל הזה והשיבהו אל
מחשבתך והתבונן מספר אליך מה שהעירותיך עליו והעזר להש
אותו בקריאת ספרי הגאון רבינו סעדיה שהמה מאירים הש
ומחדדים הבינה ומורים הפתי ומזרזים העצל והאלקי׳ יורנו דר
עבדתו כאשר שאל ממנו משיחו תודיעני ארח חיים וגו׳ וזאת
הסדרת שערי הספר הזה על סדריהם · השער הראשון בבאו
אופני חיוב יחוד האל בלב שלם · השער השני בבאור אופני
הבחינה בברואים עליהם · השער השלישי · בבאור אופני חיוב
קבלת עבדת האלהי׳ עלינו · השער הרביעי בבאור אופני חיוב
היות כל מעשינו מיוחדים לשמו ולהזהר מן החנף · השער השש
בבאור אופני חיוב הכניעה והשפלות מפניו · השער השביעי
בבאור אופני חיוב התשובה וגבליה והדברים התלויים בה
השער השמיני בבאור אופני חיוב חשבון האדם עם נפשו לאל
השער התשיעי בבאור אופני חיוב הפרישות ומה שראוי לו ממנה
השער העשירי בבאור אופני חיוב אהבת האלהים ומעלותיה
השער הראשון בבאור אופני חיוב יחודו של האל ית׳ בלב שלם

אמר המחבר כאשר חקרנו על מה שהצורך אלי
מפנות דעתנו ושרשיה׳ מצאנו יחוד האלהי׳
בלב שלם שרשה ויסודה שהוא השער הראשון משערי התורה
וביחוד יפרד המאמין מן הכופר והוא ראש אמתת הדת · ומי שנ
שנתק ממנו לא יתכן לו מעשה ולא תתקיים לו אמונה ומפני זה
היה תחלת דברי אלדים אלינו על הר סיני · באנכי ה׳ אלהיך · לא
יהיה לך וגו׳ הזהירנו אחר כן על יד נביאו באמרו

לבת אחרי ר׳ בין
לחוץ ומין אבעלמי
תורה

ורוב עוב ה׳ לעיר
ער ה׳ בבאור בחיו

(24) Baḥya ibn Paquda (11th century). *Ḥovot Ha-Levavot.* Naples: Yosef Ashkenazi, 1489.

Baḥya ibn Paqūda was a philosopher and a judge in the rabbinical court in eleventh-century Saragossa in Muslim Spain. He is known mostly for his work, written c. 1080 in Judeo-Arabic, *Kitāb al-Hidāya ilā Farāʾiḍ al-Qulūb* ('The Guide to the Duties of the Hearts'). It was translated into Hebrew by the great medieval translator Judah ibn Tibbon (c. 1120–1190) as *Ḥovot Ha-Levavot* ('Duties of the Heart'), and subsequently became a classic of Jewish philosophy, still being studied to this day.

The focus of *Ḥovot Ha-Levavot* was to make the fundamental distinction between 'duties of the body' and 'duties of the heart' in Jewish religious life. By making this distinction, ibn Paqūda sought to reevaluate religious values, moving the core of religious life away from worship in publicly visible, manifest (*ẓāhir*) actions to inner (*bāṭin*) mental activities. Furthermore, Baḥya asserts that the 'duties of the heart' are a form of *ʿilm* (knowledge) that needs to be studied.

All modern scholars of Baḥya's work have long asserted the great influence of Muslim-Sufi thought and the Islamic *kalām* on his philosophy, including the distinction itself. While he was a synthetic and independent thinker, scholars debate which specific Sufi sources he was directly influenced by. An example of Baḥya's affinity to Sufi thought can be seen in his discussion of the unity of God in the first treatise of his work. In discussing the impossibility of human knowledge of God's essence, he writes: 'One of the knowers [of God] said: "The more one knows God the more one is perplexed by Him"' (1.10.84). Sufi writers such as Qushayrī and al-Ghazālī, near contemporaries of Baḥya, cite very similar sayings to early Sufi thinkers. Qushayrī attributes the precise saying cited by Baḥya to the early Sufi Dhu'l-Nun al-Misri (d. 859): 'I heard Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Sa'īd say ... I heard Dhū'l-Nun al-Miṣri say: "The more one knows God, the more one is perplexed by him"'.[28]

(25) Al-Ghazali (1058–1111). Mishkāt al-anwār. 1077 AH [1666 or 1667].

The Islamic philosopher and theologian Abu Hamid al-Ghazali was born in Tus in the province of Khorasan in northeast Persia. He studied traditional Islamic theology for several years, and at the age of thirty-three was appointed professor of theology in Baghdad. Four years later (in 1095), however, he suffered a profound spiritual crisis and resigned his post. In the following ten years, he led the life of an itinerant ascetic. During his travels, he met many Sufis and eventually became one himself. Al-Ghazali later returned to Tus, where he resumed teaching until his death.

Al-Ghazali is noted for bridging the gap between Orthodox Islam (the outer law) and Sufism (the inner reality). Indeed, al-Ghazali was important for establishing a more harmonious relationship between the two groups and for reinstating the concept of *ṭarīqah* (a Sufi term meaning 'the ultimate truth') to the heart of Islam.

This manuscript of al-Ghazali's *Mishkāt al-anwār* is dated 1077 AH (1666 or 1667), and the title translates into English as 'Niche of Lights'. Some scholars have questioned the authenticity of al-Ghazali's authorship, although both Ibn Arabi and Ibn Rushd considered this work to be his. It begins where the author's autobiographical work *Al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalâl* leaves off, and it focuses on expanding upon the meaning behind a verse in the Qur'an—'the Verse of Light'—which describes how Allah is the light of heavens and the earth. 'The Verse of Light' is now closely associated with Sufi thought because of al-Ghazali's commentary on it. The book is divided into three parts: in part one al-Ghazali analyzes the word 'light' and its connotations; in the second part, he discusses the symbolic language in the Qur'an and Muslim traditions; and in the third part, he relates his findings to the verse and tradition itself.

Al-Ghazali's Sufi works may have reached Jewish Kabbalists, and his *Doctrines of the Philosophers* was widely read and studied in Hebrew translation by Jews in Europe, as attested by the many extant manuscripts of its Hebrew translation. The first Hebrew translation, made and commented on by the Jewish Averroist Isaac Albalag (thirteenth century), appeared in 1292. That translation and two subsequent ones attracted many Jewish commentators, and the title continued to be popular among Jews into the sixteenth century. Jewish commentators such as Moses Narboni (fourteenth century) valued al-Ghazali for the study of the Aristotelian natural sciences and for his contributions to philosophy.[29]

في لطايف الاخبار وللتحضيض الى سنن المختار وكسرت مقصوده في
ثمانية واربعين بابا فان في عهدي واثق بان من حصر اوقاته في مطالعته
وصار مجدا في دينه بمتابعته فانه يهتدي سريعا الى الحق ولا يبقى غافلا
كساير الخلق والله الهادي الى الصواب واليه المرجع والمآب الباب الاول في
الاستعاذة الباب الثاني في البسملة الباب الثالث في الايمان والاسلام
الباب الرابع في قول لا اله الا الله الباب الخامس في التسبيح
والتحميد والدعاء الباب السادس في نشاءة نبينا محمد عم الباب السابع
في معراج نبينا محمد عم الباب الثامن في معجزات نبينا محمد عم الباب التاسع
في الصلوة على النبي عم الباب العاشر في القرآن العظيم الباب الحادي
عشر في فضيلة العلم والمعرفة الباب الثاني عشر في صفة الملئكة الباب
الثالث عشر في خلقة آدم وحوا واحوال الزوجة والرحم الباب الرابع عشر
في قصة نوح عم الباب الخامس عشر في محاجة نمرود مع ابراهيم عليه السلام و
اكرامه الضيف الباب السادس عشر في ذبح ابراهيم ابنه اسمعيل عم الباب
السابع عشر في ضر ايوب عم وفي البلاء لاهل الولاء الباب الثامن عشر
في قصة موسى مع فرعون الباب التاسع عشر في قصة داود وسليمان عليهما السلام
الباب العشرون في قصة زكريا ويحيى وبيت المقدس الباب الحادي
والعشرون في التوبة والاستغفار الباب الثاني والعشرون في الوضوء والاذان
الباب الثالث والعشرون في الصلوة الخمس الباب الرابع والعشرون في الجمعة
والجماعات الباب الخامس والعشرون في العقوبة لتارك الصلوة الباب السادس
والعشرون في الصوم الباب السابع والعشرون في فضائل الحج
الباب الثامن والعشرون في الزكوة والصدقة الباب التاسع
والعشرون في فضائل الفقر الباب الثلثون في رفض الدنيا و
مذمتها وفي الزهد والتوكل الباب الحادي والثلثون في الاخلاص وترك الرياء والسمعة

مشكات الانوار

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي نور قلوب اوليائه بانوار معرفته وصفى صدورهم بملاحظة صفات
حضرته وجعلهم عاكفين على بساط عزته وكشف عن سبحات وجهه فاحرقهم بنار
محبته فسبحان الذي تجلى بذاته لذاته فاظهر كمال قدرته وكشف عن ساق
امره فخضعت له الوجوه في سجدته والصلوة على محمد الذي انشق
القمر باشارته وغدا يحشر الانبياء كلهم تحت لواء همته وعلى آله الذين
فازوا بنسيم انس قدرته واصحابه الذين بذلوا ارواحهم لاحياء سنته
وبعد فقد انكشف لارباب القلوب ببصيرة الايمان واقتباس العلم
من انوار القرآن ان لا وصول الى السعادة للانسان الا باخلاص العلم
والعمل للرحمن فان الناس كلهم هلكى الا العالمون والعالمون كلهم هلكى
الا العاملون والعاملون كلهم هلكى الا المخلصون والمخلصون على خطر عظيم
فسنح في خاطري ان اجمع كتابا جامعا يجمع شيئا من آيات القرآن
وسنن الرسول وكلمات الاولياء ونكت المشايخ وحكم اهل العرفان
ليورث في النفوس تزكية وتحلية ويؤثر في القلوب تصفية وتجلية
فتتبعت الكتب المدونة من التفاسير والاحاديث والسنن والآداب
والمواعظ والنصايح واخذت كل ما يشوق القلب الى الله وطاعته ويعرف
الطريق الى دار كرامته ويقطع لذة النفس عن الدنيا وشهواتها
ويرغبها في الآخرة ودرجاتها ويبعدها عن النار ودركاتها ولعمري
ان النظر الى مثل هذا الكتاب والتنصح بما فيه من الخطاب والعتاب والعمل
به فرض عين لكل احد له همة للفوز الى درجات الجنان وارادة للاخلاص
عن دركات النيران فجمعت هذا الكتاب وسميته بمشكات الانوار

في لطائف

(26) Ibn Arabi (1165–1240). Ṣalāh al-kubrá wa-al-dawr al-aʿlá wa-al-kunuz al-aʿlá. 19th century.

Ibn Arabi was an Andalusian Arab scholar, mystic, and philosopher whose thinking has been extremely influential within Islamic, particularly Sufi Islamic, thought. He was the first person to specifically define *Waḥdat al-wujūd*, or 'Unity of Being,' which posits that all things in the universe are manifestations of a single reality or 'Absolute Being'. Although he was born in Andalusia, which during his life offered a fascinating interchange of Jewish, Christian, and Islamic thought, he would go on to live and travel throughout North Africa, Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula (where he lived in Mecca), Iraq, Anatolia, and the Levant. He died in Damascus, where he had studied with the Sufi poet Rûmî.

The title of this work, *Ṣalāh al-kubrá wa-al-dawr al-aʿlá wa-al-kunuz al-aʿlá*, has been translated into English as 'The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection' and 'The Most Elevated Cycle Which Brings One to the Station of the Most High'. The work is a short prayer that is still widely read and used in the Islamic world and has been a source of inspiration for the Sufi Muslim mystical tradition since it was written, but it did not become known in Europe until the end of the eighteenth century. The prayer was traditionally passed from a spiritual Sufi shaykh to his disciple, particularly in the period before the arrival of the printed book, which made the widespread distribution of knowledge easier. Today, in an age of mass literacy, it is transmitted much more easily to the public, and the prayer is produced in small and large pamphlets. It sets the rules of conduct for both the wayfarer (*al-sālik*) and the one who has arrived at his destination (*al-wāṣil*). The prayer itself employs the Names of God used by Muslims, such as those referring to God's praise, gratitude, commendation, glorification, magnification, perfect attributes, majestic qualities, and acts of wisdom, mercy, benefit, and justice to create the verses that make up the prayer. Many Sufi practitioners advise reciting the prayer in the morning and the evening, while some recommend only in the early morning, and others advise chanting the prayer during times of distress.

Jewish and Islamic mysticism share many parallels. Although influences are often difficult to trace because mystics rarely cite their sources, scholars agree that at least some of these similarities are the result of Jewish and Muslim mystics engaging in dialogue or reading one another's sacred texts. One of the most outstanding examples of such cross-pollination is Baḥya ibn Paqūda's 'Duties of the Heart' (see item 24 above), which is arguably the most influential Jewish work of

spiritual and moral development. As scholars have shown, the work draws heavily on Sufi literary sources. Such intercultural encounters were not limited to intellectual elites. Medieval Jews are known to have participated with Muslims in Sufi rituals and meditations. Some, like Moses Maimonides' son Abraham (1186–1237), found these Islamic spiritual practices so impressive that they brought them into their synagogues. Close relations between Jewish and Muslim mystics continued into the early modern period. Ḥayyim Vital (1543–1620), the intellectual architect of Lurianic Kabbalah, which became the most influential variety of Kabbalah, often spoke of his exchanges with Muslim adepts.[30]

The manuscript exhibited here, which appears to have been written in the nineteenth century, has commentary in the margins.

V

ISLAMIC SUFI POETRY

Case 6

(27) *Apocalipsis de Mahoma: Mi'ragnama: cuyo original se custodia en la Bibliothèque nationale de France, con la signatura Supp. Turc. 190.* Valencia: Patrimonio ediciones, 2008.

Muhammad's 'Night Journey', the two parts of which are the *Isra'* and *Mi'raj*, recounts the story of Muhammad's voyage of a single night, in about 621. Most Islamic scholars agree that the journey was physical and spiritual, although Sufis debated whether Muhammad had really seen God, and if he had, whether he had seen him with his eyes or with his heart. Moreover, many Sufis argued that the 'Night Journey' proved Muhammad's superiority because he returned to Earth even after experiencing such a powerful, otherworldly encounter. The story is mentioned in the seventeenth surah of the Qur'an, called *Isra'*, and details are found in the *hadith*.

In the *Isra'* ('Night Journey'), Muhammad is said to have travelled on the back of a winged horse-like animal named Buraq to the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, where he led other prophets, including Abraham, Moses, and Jesus in prayer. As Muhammad ascends to heaven during the *Mi'raj*, he speaks to the prophets individually and then speaks to God, who agrees to lower the daily number of prayers from fifty to five.

It was proposed several years ago that there is a possible connection between this story and a unique midrashic story found in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Exodus 19:4. In that verse, God says to the Israelites, 'You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to Me', and the Targum adds the magnificent tale that God placed the Israelites on clouds, as if on the wings of birds, and carried them from Pilusin (Pelusium, Egypt) to the site of the Jerusalem Temple in order to slaughter the Passover sacrifice there (as mandated by biblical law) and immediately, that same night, returned them to Pilusin.[31] The date of the Targum is debated, but it is thought to contain early Jewish traditions from late antiquity.

Muhammad's 'Night Journey' to heaven is a common theme in Sufi poetry. Many Sufis model their own progress on the path to spiritual ascension on Muhammad's ascension to heaven, and they organize heaven into stages that correspond to the emotional levels of their own journey to perfection and unity with God.

This is a facsimile edition of a manuscript of the *Mi'rāj nāmah,* or 'The Apocalypse of Muhammad', which is considered a masterpiece of the Timurid style. It was produced in 1436 in Herat (modern-day northern Afghanistan, where the Sufi poet Jāmī dwelled). The illuminations illustrate Muhammad's night journey through the celestial sphere in the company of the Archangel Gabriel, his arrival at the throne of God, and his return to Earth by way of the seven circles of Hell.

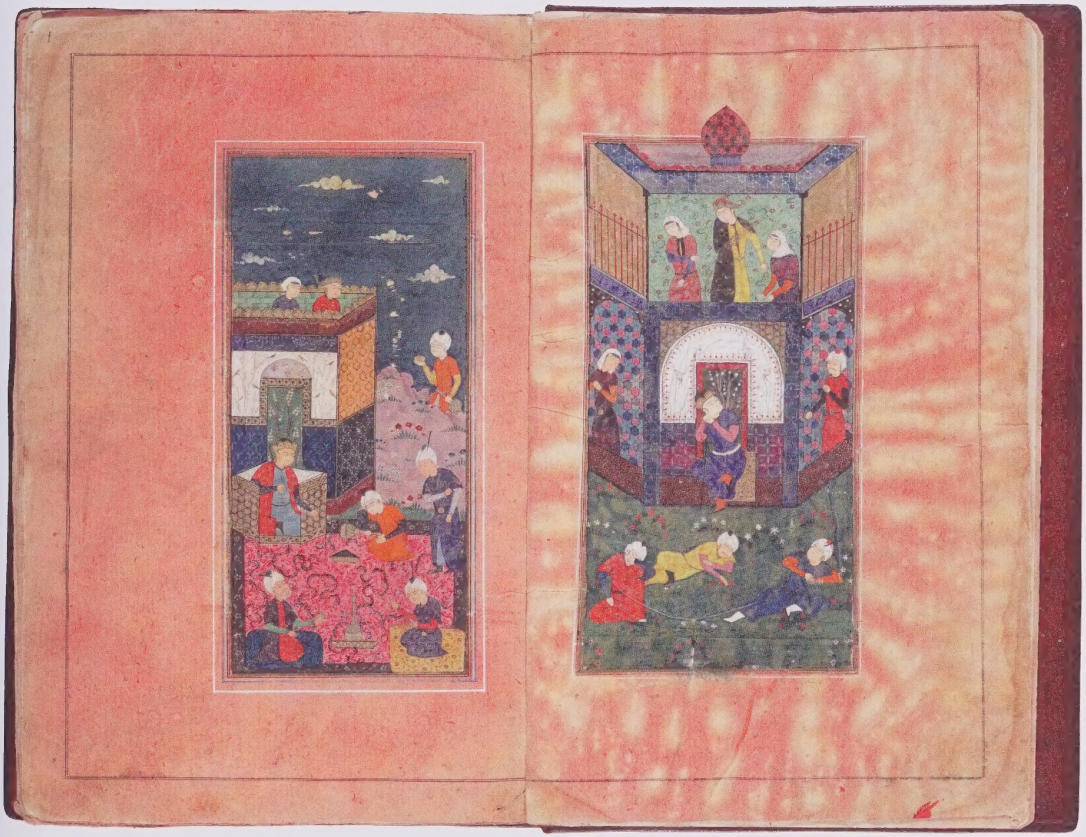
In medieval Europe, the work became known through the Latin translation that Alfonso the Wise (1221–1284) commissioned, and it may have inspired Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The miniatures illustrating the manuscript show the stylistic influence of Buddhist and Chinese art and are characterized by a sense of realism and movement. The manuscript is written in Chagatai Turkish (in Uighur script) with lines of Arabic text at the head of each page. The original manuscript is held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

(28) Omar Khayyam (1048–1131). Rubā'īyāt. Persia, 16th century.

This Persian-language manuscript of Omar Khayyam's *Rubā'īyāt* dates from the sixteenth century and contains 235 quatrains arranged according to the subject matter, with two full-page illustrations and three smaller miniatures. It is written in the *Nasta'līq* script within gold frames on rose-coloured, glazed paper.

The *Rubā'īyāt of Omar Khayyam* is the title given to the 1859 English translation by the English poet and writer Edward Fitzgerald (1809–1883). Fitzgerald's translation became widely popular in England and the United States and has been translated and published in several editions since then. Despite its popularity, there is much debate about whether Omar Khayyam, who was a mathematician and a scholar, is in fact its author, owing to a discrepancy between the uniformity of the language employed and the supposed impossibility for one person to express the wide range of ideas present in the work.

Another debate focuses on whether the work is a rejection of Islamic religious philosophy in its concern with living in the moment or whether the work expresses Sufi ideas. Fitzgerald himself claimed that many Sufis, including Shams Tabrizi Al-Ghazali and Attar, rejected the *Rubā'īyāt*'s philosophy, which they viewed as anti-religious and agnostic despite the *Rubā'īyāt*'s use of Sufi motifs and symbols such as the Beloved and the jug of wine (symbolizing mystical union with God). Other Sufis, however, claim that the *Rubā'īyāt* is a Sufi text, overlooking the blasphemies contained within it.



KÚZA-NÁMA

LIX

Listen again. One Evening at the Close
Of Ramazán, ere the better Moon arose,
In that old Potter's Shop I stood alone
With the clay Population round in Rows.

LX

And, strange to tell, among that Earthen Lot
Some could articulate, while others not:
And suddenly one more impatient cried –
"Who is the Potter, pray, and who the Pot?"

LXI

Then said another – "Surely not in vain
My Substance from the common Earth was ta'en,
That He who subtly wrought me into Shape
Should stamp me back to common Earth again."

(29) Omar Khayyam (1048–1131). *Rubā'īyāt of Omar Khayyam*, illustrated by Arthur Szyk. New York: The Heritage Club, 1940.

(30) Proofs of the above illustrations by Arthur Szyck.

This edition of Omar Khayyam's *Rubā'īyāt* contains its first English translation, originally published in 1859 by Edward Fitzgerald. The illustrations are by Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), who was one of the most famous and popular Jewish artists of the first half of the twentieth century. Szyk was a proud Jew, and much of his work was made in an effort to oppose Nazism. His art was often created in the style of medieval illumination.

Presented here, alongside Szyk's illustrated edition of the *Rubā'īyāt*, is a proof sheet of Szyk's coloured illustrations for this edition.

VI

OTHER CONNECTIONS

Case 7

ཀ་ཀ་ཀ་

(31) Samaritan Torah scroll. Shekhem (Nablus), 1911.

This scroll is a Samaritan Torah (Pentateuch). It was written in two scribal hands. The colophon identifies one scribe as Tabiah ben Pinḥas in Shekhem (Nablus) 'in the year 1330 of the dominion of the children of Ishmael' (i.e., of Islamic rule = 1911). The text was written on paper instead of parchment and thus was probably not intended for use in ritual or liturgy. Distinct from the common Hebrew script, the Samaritan script derives from the ancient Hebrew, or Paleo-Hebrew script, which Jews stopped using for the most part during the Second Temple period (516 BCE–70 CE) in favour of the square, Assyrian script.

The Samaritans were a sect that separated from Judaism at some point during the Second Temple period. The Samaritans' biblical canon includes only the five books of Torah (the Pentateuch), and although the Samaritan version of the Torah is mostly the same as the traditional Jewish Torah, there are certain differences. The most notable is the Samaritan Torah's harmonization of the biblical text to overcome seeming contradictions (likewise discovered in some versions of the Torah among the Dead Sea Scrolls), and its emphasis on Shekhem and Mount Gerizim, which are the holy city and holy mountain for the Samaritans, as opposed to Jerusalem and the Temple Mount for traditional Jews.

Once a rather large sect, the Samaritans suffered repression and forced Christianization and Islamization throughout their history. As a result, their numbers dwindled. By the early twentieth century, there were only about 150 Samaritans, but in recent decades their numbers have grown and there are now over nine hundred. The community is now split between the area of Nablus in the West Bank and the city of Holon in modern Israel.

The Samaritans' religious practices were influenced by many centuries under Islamic rule. For example, they wash parts of their bodies and take their shoes off before entering their synagogues, and in their synagogues they sit on prayer mats. These practices are known among Muslims, but not among Jews, and archaeological evidence shows they were not practiced by Samaritans in antiquity.

(32) Tselut Shabatot ha-Shevu'ot. Shekhem (Nablus), 1743–1749.

This manuscript, written in black and red ink, is a Samaritan prayer book for the holiday of *Shavu'ot* (Pentecost). Like the Samaritan scroll above (item 31), it is written in the Samaritan Hebrew script, and—like the scroll—it was copied by two scribes. Colophons in both Samaritan and Arabic, and dated by the Islamic rendering of the Hijrah, were written by both scribes. Colophons from the first scribe appear at various places in the manuscript

and date to 1156–1158 Hijrah (1743–1745). Seen here is the colophon at the very end of the manuscript. Surrounded by a decorated frame, this Arabic colophon belongs to the second scribe, one Mufraj son of Yehoshua son of Mufraj (also known as Marchiv son of Yehoshua son of Marchiv) and is dated to 1162 Hijrah (1749).

Prior to its arrival at the Fisher Library, this manuscript was part of the collection of Victor (Avigdor) Klagsbald (1924–2020), a scholar and prominent collector of Judaica in the second half of the twentieth century.

ﻭﺍﻟﺴﻼﻡ ﻋﻠﻰ ﻣﻦ ﺍﺗﺒﻊ ﺍﻟﻬﺪﻯ ﻭﺍﻟﺼﻼﺓ ﻭﺍﻟﺴﻼﻡ ﻋﻠﻰ ﻣﻦ ﺍﺗﺒﻊ ﺍﻟﻬﺪﻯ

ﺍﻟﺤﻤﺪ ﷲ ﺍﻟﺬﻯ ﻫﺪﻯ ﻋﺒﺎﺩﻩ ﺍﻟﻰ ﺍﻟﺼﺮﺍﻁ ﺍﻟﻤﺴﺘﻘﻴﻢ ﻭﺍﻟﺼﻼﺓ ﻭﺍﻟﺴﻼﻡ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺳﻴﺪ ﺍﻟﻤﺮﺳﻠﻴﻦ ﻭﺍﻟﻪ ﻭﺻﺤﺒﻪ ﺍﺟﻤﻌﻴﻦ ﺍﻣﺎ ﺑﻌﺪ ﻓﻬﺬﻩ ﺍﻟﺮﺳﺎﻟﺔ ﺍﻟﻤﺴﻤﺎﺓ ﺑﺎﻟﻔﻮﺍﺋﺪ ﺍﻟﻤﻬﻤﺔ ﻟﻤﻦ ﻳﻄﺎﻟﻊ ﺍﻟﺮﺳﻢ ﻭﺍﻟﺤﺴﺎﺏ ﻭﻫﻰ ﻣﺸﺘﻤﻠﺔ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺛﻼﺛﺔ ﻋﺸﺮ ﺑﺎﺑﺎ ﻭﺧﺎﺗﻤﺔ ﻭﻫﺬﺍ ﺍﻭﺍﻥ ﺷﺮﻭﻉ ﻓﻰ ﺍﻟﻤﻘﺼﻮﺩ ﻭﺑﺎﷲ ﺍﻟﺘﻮﻓﻴﻖ ﻭﺍﻟﻴﻪ ﺍﻟﻤﺮﺟﻊ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﺎٰﺏ

ﺍﻟﺒﺎﺏ ﺍﻻﻭﻝ ﻓﻰ ﺍﻟﺠﻤﻊ ﻭﺍﻟﻄﺮﺡ

ﺍﻟﺠﻤﻊ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺰﻳﺎﺩﺓ ﻭﺍﻟﻄﺮﺡ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﻨﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﻭﻟﻬﻤﺎ ﺍﺭﺑﻌﺔ ﺍﺣﻮﺍﻝ ﺍﻻﻭﻝ ﺍﻥ ﻳﻜﻮﻥ ﺍﻟﻤﺠﻤﻮﻉ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﻄﺮﻭﺡ ﻣﻨﻪ ﻣﻌﻠﻮﻣﻴﻦ ﻭﺍﻟﺜﺎﻧﻰ ﺍﻥ ﻳﻜﻮﻥ ﺍﻟﻤﺠﻤﻮﻉ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﻄﺮﻭﺡ ﻣﻨﻪ ﻣﺠﻬﻮﻟﻴﻦ ﻭﺍﻟﺜﺎﻟﺚ ﺍﻥ ﻳﻜﻮﻥ ﺍﻟﻤﺠﻤﻮﻉ ﻣﻌﻠﻮﻣﺎ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﻄﺮﻭﺡ ﻣﻨﻪ ﻣﺠﻬﻮﻻ ﻭﺍﻟﺮﺍﺑﻊ ﺍﻥ ﻳﻜﻮﻥ ﺍﻟﻤﺠﻤﻮﻉ ﻣﺠﻬﻮﻻ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﻄﺮﻭﺡ ﻣﻨﻪ ﻣﻌﻠﻮﻣﺎ ﻓﺎﻻﻭﻝ ﻳﺴﻤﻰ ﺍﻟﺠﻤﻊ ﻭﺍﻟﺜﺎﻧﻰ ﻳﺴﻤﻰ ﺍﻟﺘﻔﺮﻳﻖ ﻭﺍﻟﺜﺎﻟﺚ ﻳﺴﻤﻰ ﺍﻟﺠﺒﺮ ﻭﺍﻟﺮﺍﺑﻊ ﻳﺴﻤﻰ ﺍﻟﻤﻘﺎﺑﻠﺔ ﻭﻫﺬﻩ ﺍﻟﺜﻼﺛﺔ ﺍﻻﺧﻴﺮﺓ ﻳﺴﻤﻰ ﺍﻟﺘﺨﺮﻳﺞ ﻭﻫﺬﻩ ﺍﻟﺜﻼﺛﺔ ﺍﻻﺧﻴﺮﺓ ﻳﺴﻤﻰ ﺍﻟﺘﺨﺮﻳﺞ ﻭﻫﺬﻩ ﺍﻟﺜﻼﺛﺔ ﺍﻻﺧﻴﺮﺓ ﻳﺴﻤﻰ ﺍﻟﺘﺨﺮﻳﺞ

ﻭﻫﺬﻩ ﺍﻟﺠﺪﺍﻭﻝ ﺍﻟﺘﻰ ﺗﺴﻤﻰ ﺍﻟﺘﺨﺮﻳﺞ ﻭﻫﻰ ﺍﻟﺘﻰ ﺗﺴﻤﻰ ﺍﻟﺘﺨﺮﻳﺞ ﻭﻫﻰ ﺍﻟﺘﻰ ﺗ

(33) Elijah Bashyazi (c. 1420–1490). *Sefer Aderet Eliyahu.* Constantinople: Gershom Soncino, 1531.

The Karaites are a sect or movement in Judaism that coalesced in the late ninth century in Babylonia and the Land of Israel. They differ from mainstream or rabbinic Judaism in that they accept only Scripture (the Hebrew Bible) as the source of religious authority and reject the oral Torah of the rabbis (the Talmud). During the High Middle Ages, their main centres were in Jerusalem and Cairo, but after the Crusaders' conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, the Jerusalem centre dwindled and another was established in Byzantium, primarily Constantinople.

Many scholars have long held that Karaism's emergence was significantly indebted to Islam, especially Islamic scripturalism. More recent scholarship, however, has suggested that Karaism was mainly an inner-Jewish development. Thus, for example, 'the Karaites' Palestinocentric ideology' was 'part of the wider tensions between the competing Babylonian and Palestinian centers, which formed a continuing source of crisis in Judaism from antiquity to medieval times'. Accordingly, the source of ideas or principles that were seen as emanating from Islam is, in fact, to be found among trends and movements in ancient Judaism. Nevertheless, it was under the sceptre of Islam that Karaism emerged, while at the same time a similar trend questioning oral tradition emerged in Islam.[32]

Elijah Bashyatchi was the leading rabbi of the Karaite community in Constantinople in the fifteenth century, and his *Aderet Eliyahu* is an authoritative compendium of Karaite *halakhah* (religious law). It was the second Karaite work to be printed. As Karaites had not yet adopted printing themselves, it was printed by the famous Rabbinate Jewish press of the Soncino family.

ספר המצות הנקרא אדרת אליהו

נדפס בקוסטנדינה בעשתי עשר שנה לאדוננו המלך האדיר

שולטאן שוליימאן ירום הודו ותפארתו,

על ידי צעיר המחוקקים קטון התלמידים גרשום בן החר׳ משה זרע ישראל נתן איש שונצין ז״ל

ובמצות הבחור וצחמד אשר נדבה רוחו אותו לחזק ידי עושי המלאכה ברכושו ובמאודו

להעמיד ספר הישר הזה על מכונו הוא אליהו בן משה בן החכם אליהו אשר חבר אדרת לא

ישועל׳ תועלתו ׳ בו ידרך עניים במשפט וילמד דרכי וארחות יי חסד ואמת לנוצרי בריתו:

מגדל עוז שם יי

ונשגב צדיק רוץ

Сходно указу 27. ноября 1858.
Сія книга много перепечатана.
1837. года. Шадов: Раввин.
26/567
638
EX LIBRIS
ABRAHAM KAHANA

(34) Judah ben Elijah Hadassi (twelfth century). *Sefer Eshkol ha-kofer.* Gözleve (Yevpatoria): Mordekhai Ṭirishḳan, 1836.

Yehudah ben Eliyahu Hadassi was a Karaite scholar in twelfth-century Constantinople. His work *Sefer Eshkol ha-Kofer* ('The Book of the Cluster of Henna'), which references a phrase taken from the Song of Songs 1:14, is a sort of summary of early Karaite Judaism—religious law, theology, polemics, etc.—as it developed under Islamic rule, until the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. *Eshkol ha-Kofer,* composed c. 1148–49, has a unique structure. The book is organized around the Ten Commandments, although the connection between certain topics and the Commandment under which they are written is not always clear. It is made up of 379 alphabetical acrostics, starting from the beginning of the Hebrew alphabet and from the end in alteration, and every single stanza ends with a final letter *khaf.*

Hadassi was one of the first to define Judaism (Karaite Judaism, in his case) according to its cardinal beliefs, listing ten religious principles. A few decades later, Maimonides would do something of the sort for rabbinic Judaism. The order of Hadassi's 'principles reflects the Muʿtazilite *kalām* topics of divine unity and justice', and, more generally, his work reflects the influence of Mutazilite *kalām.*

This important and unique Karaite work was not published until almost seven hundred years after its composition, in this sole edition printed in 1836 at a Karaite printing press in Gözleve (today Yevpatoria in western Crimea; it was a Khazar town in the eighth to tenth centuries).[33]

כפר

אשכל הכפר

להרב רבנו יהודה ה״סי בן כה״ר אליהו הדסי יעמ״ש חובר משנת ארבעת אלפים ותשע מאות ותשע שנים לבריאה: כמובא באלפא ביתא ל״ג מזה הספר: ולתאריך רומי משנת אלף ומאה וארבעים ושמונה שנים: עם מורה מקום הנקרא נחל אשכל להר״ר כלב בכה״ר אליהו אפנדופולו יעמ״ש:

СЕФЕРЬ Эшколь гакоферь

т. Е.

КНИГа кипарисовая Ягода сочиненіе

караимскаго рабина ЮГУДА ГАДАСИ

ОТЪ 1148 го ГОДА

נדפס בגוזלו

ПЕЧАТАНО ВЪ ЕВПАТОРІИ

בדפוס כ״ר מרדכי טרישקן השוחר בכ״ר יצחק הזקן כפלי ז״ל בשנת חמשת אלפים וחמש מאות השעים ושש שנים לבריאה:

והסמן כי שומע אל אביונים ה׳ פ״ק

ВЪ ТИПОГРАФІИ КУПЦА МОРДХаЯ Тиришкана

1836 Года

תחת ממשלת ארוננו האדון הרחמן הקיסר הגדול ניכולאיי פוולאוויץ הראשון אימפראטור המושל על כל ארצית רוסייא ושאר הגלילות המשועבדות תחת יד ממשלתו ירום הודו ותנשא מלכותו מעלה מעלה אכי״ר:

ישנה ולבי ער
קול דודי דופק
פתחי לי אחותי
רעיתי יונתי תמתי
שראשי נמלא טל
קוצותי רסיסי
לילה

ואני זאת בריתי את
אמר יוי רוחי אשר
עליך ודברי אשר
שמתי בפיך לא ימוש
מפיך מפי זרעך ומפי
זרע זרעך אמר יוי
מעתה ועד עולם

(35) Megilot u-fiyutim. Iranian Kurdistan?, 5620 [1860].

This manuscript contains a collection of works in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Judeo-Persian, written in Persian-Oriental Hebrew script. As the multiple colophons indicate, all of the works were copied by a single scribe, Moshe ben Ḥaim, in 1860 for an individual named Ḥaim. It is believed that they were copied in the Persian world, possibly in Iranian Kurdistan.

The works include the Aramaic *targumim* (translations) of biblical texts, such as Esther, Ruth, and the Song of Songs, an expanded Aramaic targum of Exodus 20 (the Ten Commandments), texts or translations of a number of piyyutim (liturgical poems), a retelling of the book of Esther in Persian verse, a recounting of Moses' passing in Aramaic, and more. The manuscript contains multiple colourful frames with floral decorations, one for each composition. Many of the frames include the scribe's name and the date of copying in hollow letters.

(36) Perez Trévôt. *Maḳre dardeḳe*. Naples: Joseph ben Jacob Ashkenazi Gunzenhauser, 8 August 1488.

The Aramaic words *makre dardeke* literally mean 'teacher of little ones', referring to a teacher of young children. Yet, at some point in the medieval period, at least from the fourteenth century, this phrase came to be used for a specific genre of books: dictionaries of biblical words for the use of teachers. They were set by alphabetical order of the roots of Hebrew words.

Exhibited here is the first printed edition of *Makre dardeke*, an incunable printed in Naples, Italy, in 1488. It is the first dated printed Hebrew schoolbook and the first dictionary of its kind; this version was never printed again. Though the author's name does not appear, its author has been identified as Perez Trévôt, a French Jew, who composed it originally in French, probably in southern Italy at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. The original French version is contained in a manuscript now held at the National Library of France. Yet, in the incunable version, the Arabic translation of each word was added, making it a trilingual dictionary: Hebrew-Italian-Arabic, all written in Hebrew letters.

It appears that the Jews of Sicily spoke both Sicilian-Italian and Judeo-Arabic, a remnant of the era of Muslim rule over Sicily. This knowledge was useful in trade and helped them serve as interpreters between Sicilians and the Maghrebi-Sicilians. Thus, it is likely that the intended audience of this dictionary were the Jews of Sicily.[34]

ברם קסא או אסקריביין ובלע סנדוך · כמו בגנזי ברומים · ופרש בל כן · לפי שקורין בל יחזקאל
ערבי ארגז ברומי · ורד פארייאיכטו

ברק לאמפי ובלע כן כמו ויהי קולות וברקים וכן ברוק ברק ותפיצם יתרו תלים
וכן ברק חניתך להב החנית לפי שמבהיק כברק · חבקוק
לא טופציאו אבן טובה כמו אודם פטדה וברקת ורדפי אבן מברקת · תצוה
לא ספיני ובלע סוך כמו ואת הברקנים ולע רשי כן ופי מין ממיני קוצים בלע סוך שופטי

ברש אביטו או ביטו ובלע בקן כמו תחת הנעצוץ יעלה ברוש · וכן ישעיה הושע
כברוש רענן פי מין אילן ערבי בקן
לא בארוני כמו מבחר ברושיו ופי השרים הגדולים וכן הברושים הרעלו וית שהם כלי זיין ישעיה

ברת פאטו ובלע אריד כמו זאת אות הברית וכן וברית שלומי לא תמוט · ל קיום לך ישעיה
לא אביטי או בוסי כמו רהיטינו ברותים ובלע בקן

בשש טריקא או טרדא ובלע טמאטיל · כמו בושש משה · ורד קבעו כמ בוש תשא
בשל בוליאו או קוציכאו ובלע טביך כמו ובשל מבושל · וכן בכלי נחשת בושלה · וכן בא
הזרוע בשלה רל לאחר שנתבשלה ויקרא
לא מטורא או קומפירו בלע כתלו כמו הבשילו אשכלותיה ענבים פי בשול גמר הפרי ויצא
לא ארוסטי ובלע טוי כמו ויבשלו את הפסח פי לשון צליה וכל שאר בשל הוא עי מים

בשם ספיני ובלע מסך כמו וקנה בשם לשון בשמים וכן וקנמן בשם תשא
בשם קלפיסטרי ובלע פרנך כמו יען בוששכם על דל · פרש ל רומסין רד פי ל עיוש ותשא · בלע בשר בוש · וב תעבייא

בשר קרני ובלע לחאס · כמו ובשר מבשרי וכ עצמי ובשרי אתה · ויא קרובי בראשית ויצא תלים
לא קויירו ובלע גלד כמו דבקה עצמי לבשרי שהוא עליון מן הבשר ישעיה
לא פריגטי ובלע קריב כמו ומבשריך לא תתעלם · רל הקרובים שהם כבשרך ישעיה
לא פרטכביאה או טבילא ובלע כבאר כמו מבשרת ציון וכן בשרתי צדק ל בשורה · תלים

בת פיליאא ובלע בבית כמו אם בת היא וחיה · שמות
לא מולירי ובלע מרא כמו לקחה מרדכי לו לבת ופרש לאשה וכן ארז מגלה
לא אובו ובלע ביין כמו ואת בת היענה · ואחרזל וכי בת יש לה ליענה אלא זו ביצתה · שמיני
לא וילא או ביטטי ובער כלד כמו בת ציון ל עיר · ורד פי עדה · ובלע בשר בנה ובית איכה
לא ויסולא או ביטולא ובלע מתו כמו כאישון בת עינו וכ כנוגע בבת עינו · ופרד הוא השחור שבעין · תלי זכרי
דינטי ובלע סכאן כמו קדשך עשו שן בת אשורין ופי שן של עץ אשורים ובת רל כמו של אומן · יחזקאל
לא מסירא ובלע כיילא כמו אלפים בית יכיל וכן בת צדק · פרש מדת הבת ומחזקת ג סאין · מלכי יחזקאל
לא קורטיבא ובלע שקיק כמו ארגמת שש בתים לאשרה · ופרש ל ירעו וכן פרד בשר בית · ישעיה
לא לנקו ובלע מובאע כמו בתי לבדים ל מקום · וכן ברזל בית ארעא · תרומה
מאי בית ארעא מכה שתחת הרגל סמוך לארץ
לא דיסולאמיכטו ובלע מסתוחם כמו ואשיתהו בתה וכן כחלי הבתות ופרש ל שממה וריקות · ישעי

בתל ביטא או פובילא ובלע בכרה כמו בתולה ואיש לא ידעה · ומזה אמ רזל קרקע בתולה שלא נעבדה
בתק פירירי או ספיטרי ובלע כפוד כמו ובתקוך בחרבות · פי תקיעת החרב בגוף ואין לו דמיון · וית ויבזעוך ·
בתר פרטיאו ובלע קסס כמו ויבתר אותם בתוך · וכן ואת הבפור · פרש ל חלוקה וכן על הרים בתרי · לך שיר
ואלח הדולבים על ארבע בדדחקריסטל ע בולאר כמו ועינו, כעין הבדלח ולע רשי כן בהעלותך
בלעד סיכבא או דיסטרא ובלע גייר כמו בלעדי אלהי יענה פי זולתי בליעל אכפילו או רשע כמו בער כל
בעבע · בסרם בעה אכפילא ובלע בואזק בקבק פיאסקו או בוטיליא כמו וקנית בקבק יוצר חרש בע פכסכן יר
ופרד כל כלי שפיו צר כך בקבוק לפי שעושין בק בק כשופכין ממנו ·

ברבר קפוני ובלע תעלוף כמו וברבורים אבוסים פי עופות שנסרסו ונתפטמו מלכי
ברזל פירו ובלע חדיד כמו ברזל ונחושת מנעליך וכן בכבלי ברזל · נפשם להנ בית · ברכה תלים
גג טיטו או אסטרקו ובלע סטח כמו והיא עלתה עליהם על הגג וכן ועשית מעקה לגגך · שופטי תצא
גאה אלטיריזאו או כלבאו ובלע תשמיך כמו כי גאה גאה · וכן הכה לגאיונים בשלח תלים
ורד פי יונים כמו חרב היונה וכן גא מאד

(37) David Cowles. North Africa Albums. Montreal, 1993–1995: Shrine of Rabbi Amram Ben Diwan at Asjen, Morocco.

Montreal-based photographer David R. Cowles uses a unique photographic process. He works exclusively with large-format cameras and produces his prints on 'printing-out paper', a late nineteenth-century process in which the negative is placed directly onto the paper and the image is developed by exposure to high ultraviolet light.

Cowles travelled to North Africa numerous times between 1993 and 2008, primarily documenting what were by then mostly abandoned Jewish sites as well as some non-Jewish sites. There are albums of sites in Morocco, in Egypt, in Tunisia, and more.

Seen here is a reproduction of a print showing the site of the Shrine of Rabbi Amram Ben Diwan (d. 1781) at Asjen, Morocco. Located in the northwest of Morocco, roughly 120 kilometres north of Meknes, Asjen once had a thriving Jewish community, and its Jewish cemetery, in which this shrine is found, is still maintained. Rabbi Amram Ben Diwan was born in Palestine, probably in Hebron, in the early eighteenth century. He first came to Morocco in 1743 to collect funds to support yeshivot (rabbinic learning academies) in the Holy Land and established a yeshiva near Asjen. Rabbi Amram was known as a miracle worker. After ten years of travelling in Morocco, he returned to Hebron. He soon had to flee Ottoman Palestine and returned to Morocco, resuming his life of teaching and travelling. Soon after he died in 1781, his tomb became a popular pilgrimage site for both Jews and Muslims. He is one of the most well-known saints in Morocco.[35]

VII

CHRISTIANS ON JEWS AND MUSLIMS

Case 8

caritas multoꝝ. & apl's dicit scda ad thi
mo. iij. c. In nouissimis tempibꝫ ĩstabũt
tempa piculosa & erũt oñs scipos aman
tes. cupidi elati blasphemi. parẽtibꝫ ino=
bedientes. ingrati scelesti. sine affectõe sine
pace. crimĩatores incõtinẽtes. Immites sñ
benignitate ꝓditores proterui. timidi ce=
ci. voluptatũ amatores magis q̃m dei. ha
bẽtes spẽm quidẽ pietatis virtutẽ eius ab=
negãtes. Quartũ signũ est neglectio siue
cõtemptꝰ sane doctrĩe de quo p̃ma ad thi
mo. iiij. erit eñ tempꝰ cũ sanã doctrinã ñ
sustinebũt ꝫ ad sua desideria coaceruabũt
sibi mgr̃os pruriẽtes auribꝫ & a veritate
quidẽ auditꝰ auertent ad fabulas aũt con
uertent̃. Quintũ signũ est ꝑturbacõ oĩs
p̃lature spũalis & t̃renalis iurisdcõnis de
quo daniel' uij. In tempe illo nõ erit prin
ceps. neq; ꝓpha neq; dux ĩ ꝓpl'o meo qui
scz obseruet veritatẽ vite iusticie & doctri
ne. Sextũ signũ est vindicacõ diuĩalis ꝑ
flagellũ & cõrrectõez de quo ezechiel' vij.
Venit tempꝰ ꝓpe est dies occisioĩs q̃ emit
nõ letet̃ & qui vendit non lugeat qr ira
sup oñem ꝓpl'm. Septimũ signũ erit cessa=
cio verbi diuini quo mentes obscure & te
nebrose ad verũ lumẽ gr̃e reducunt̃. deui=
antibꝫ oñdit̃ salutis via & errantibꝫ mai
festa fit semita veritatis hec oĩa appropĩ=
quãte tempe añxp̃i ob defectũ diuini ver=
bi de mentibꝫ hoĩm dispibũt sic̃ notat be
atus bernhardꝰ ĩ suo euãgelio etn̄o nõ in
solo pane viuit homo Allegẽt illd̃ Apoc̃.
viij. & cũ agnꝰ aperuisset septimũ sigillũ
factũ est silenciũ in celo quasi media hora
Septimũ namq; sigillũ ut dicit septimũ ẽ
iudiciũ in eccl'ia dandũ. quidnã ꝑ celum
nisi eccl'ia dei exp̃mit̃ cuiꝰ equidẽ ml'titu=
do ꝑ cõuersacõz celestis eẽ deberet quid hoc
silenciũ nisi defectio verbi dei. Nam & ml'
ti appareãt p̃dicare. verbũ tñ dei adulterã
tes scipos p̃dicãt nõ dñm ihm xp̃m. Sed
notãter hoc silenciũ merito media hora fi
eri dicit̃ qr int̃ ꝑfectõez institucõis xp̃i &
sue radiose doctrine & vite. & difformita
tem auersioĩs & dyabolice cecitatis q̃ auer
tet añxp̃s ml'titudinẽ xp̃ianoꝝ post flagi
cia uarijs modis q̃i medi9 status ẽ cũ lu=
mine veritatis silenciũ imponitur & vox
ignorancie ꝑ facti euidenciã incipit excla
mare sicut ĩ gen̄. xviij. c. de zodomitis &
gamorrianis scriptũ ẽ. Clamor zodomoꝝ
& gomorreoꝝ ml'ti plicatꝰ ẽ. ergo morra
eñ cecitas & zodoma pecꝰ silens inꝑpetat̃
Ex hac nãq; abisso ignorãcie dei & mali=
cie mũdi successũ sumet & ꝓsperabit̃ anti
xp̃s sicut apoc̃. xj. c. scriptũ est bestia. i. be
stialis & crudelis. añxp̃s ascẽdet de abisso
idest ꝓsperabit̃ & successũ hẽbit ex igno=
rãcia mũdi qui ve abissus poc̃it appellari
qr mũdus tũc ꝓpt̃ defectũ diuini verbi ig
norãcia plenꝰ erit ĩ cũctis boĩs ꝓpt̃ea iob
xx. c. ait dicit abissus. i. p̃uata ignorãcia
nõ est ĩ me lumẽ scz alicuiꝰ nc̃c̃ie veritatis
hoc ibi. Octauũ signũ est dubitacõ ĩ fide
& pullulacõ erroris & decepcionũ de quo
dr̃ p̃ma ad thimo. p̃mo In nouissimis tem
pibꝫ discedẽt quidẽ a fide attendẽtes spiri
tibꝫ erroris & doctrinis demonioꝝ in ypo=
crisi loquẽciũ mendaciũ. Nonũ signũ ẽ de
structio eccl'ie ad tempꝰ de quo ꝓphetauit
iohs apoc̃. xij. q̃ ml'ier. i. eccl'ia fugit in=
desertũ vbi alat̃ a deo ꝑ tempꝰ & tempa
& dimidiũ tempis Hec nouez signa ꝓpin
qui aduentus añxp̃i ex sacris script̃is col
ligere potui videat & cõtemplet̃ diligens
lector si forte mũdũ in p̃nti inueniet aliq̃=
bus de p̃dictis signis wlneratũ. & recur=
rat diligẽtissime ad fortissimũ defensorez
ihm xp̃m dñm nr̃m qui est turris fortitu
dinis a facie inimici cuiꝰ singl'ari p̃sidio
fides xp̃ianoꝝ inuiolabil' sñ fine ꝑseueret

Explicit liber tercius fortalicij fidei
Incipit liber quartus de sarracenorum bello.

Viriliter ut deus tradidit dissoluto iā expiri oportet in hoc libro quarto sarracenorū vires quid scilicet contra nostrum fidei fortaliciū possint. Pro cuius claro intellectu · xij · ꝯsideraciones occurrēt intellectui ꝑtractande quarū prima erit de origine machometi ¶ Secunda de vita & moribus machomethi ¶ Tercia de qualitate doctrine et legis machometi ¶ Quarta de fundamento legis machometi ¶ Quīta de concordancia & discordancia legis machometi cū lege xp̄i ī articulis fidei et sacramētis ¶ Sexta de morte machometi ¶ Septima de successoribus machometi ¶ Octaua de bello sarracenorū per raciones contra nomen xp̄ianū et cōtra veritatem vtriusq; legis scilicet xp̄i et moisi ¶ Nona erit de bellis & triūphis sarracenorū et xp̄ianoꝝ ꝑ arma corꝑalia usq; in presens temp⁹ ¶ Decima est de possessione terre sancte ꝑ sarracenos ¶ Vndecima est de his ad que ꝯpelli debent sarraceni viuentes inter xp̄ianos de iure & de his ad que cōpelli debent ex ordinacōe regni ¶ Duodecima erit de fine legis sarracenorū et de eorū ꝑpetua seruitute sub iugo xp̄ianorum

De origine machometi

Prima cōsideracio hui⁹ quarti libri est de origine machometi que tribꝰ explicatur articulis. ¶ Primus est de origine machometi q̄ ad genus et locū ¶ Secund⁹ de origine secte eius quo ad autorem ¶ Tercius de origine vtriusq; quo ad tempus.

De origine machometi q̄ ad genus et locū.

Primus articulus est de origīe machometi quo ad genus et locum. Circa quod notandum ꝙ machometus originem traxit ex hismaele filio patriarche abrahe · ex agar ancilla Iste hismael fuit idolatra pessimus quē de⁹ eiecit a domo paterna iussitq; morari in deserto pharan gen̄ · xxi · cū vocatis hic fuit palustus sagittarius infra eo · c · habuitq; vexillū altissimū in quo scriptū erat supꝑbia vite sub quo ipse militauit continue · et innumerabiles homīes ab eo decepti. Hic genuit cedar de q̄ gen̄ · xxxv · qui genuit hamel · qui tebich · qui hamessa · qui adech · qui adue · q̄ adne · qui mahack idolatrā pessimū · qui sacrificia fecit filio suo nisar vt ꝑz ī libris generaciōis mahurich · Iste nisar fuit secund⁹ angel⁹ sathane post hismaelem habēs vexillum altissimū ī quo scriptū erat vanitas mūdi sub quo ipse continue militauit et innumerabiles ab eo decepti · Hic genuit muzar · qui alien · qui emosera · q̄ melich · qui vain · q̄ luije · q̄ galibem · q̄ caph · qui mirra · q̄ coidai · qui abdemenoph · idolatram pessimū q̄ habuit artem hismaelis et vexillū nizaris et claues omniū idolorum meque · ut patꝫ in libro generaciōis mahurich · Abdemeneph vero genuit abdemutaliph · q̄ abdalam · q̄ machometum ex emma uxore que fuit filia haijop · que concepit et pepit predictū machometum in villa quadam que dicit̄ ijtrarip · que ē ꝓpe mequam in arabia . Iste fuit tercius diabolicus angelus pro confusione generis humani q̄ habuit vexillū altissimum in quo scriptum erat ꝯcupiscencia carnis sub quo ipse militauit vsq; ad mortem. Omnesq; sectatores sui damnatissime sue secte nec mirum si pessimus fuit q̄a secundum apostolū si radix sancta et rami · et ꝑ oppositū · Si radix pessima qualis fuit hismael et ram⁹ scilicꝫ machomet⁹ pessimus fuit · Et sic patꝫ origo machometi q̄ ad genus et locum. De origine secte machometi quo ad auctorem.

Secundus articul⁹ est scire quo auctore secta machometi originem habuit. Circa quod aduertendū ꝙ predictus abdalla pater machometi habebat magnam familiaritatē et societatem cū quodam iudeo astronimo qui valde ꝑitus erat in sciencia astronomie. Erat eciā doctus nō solū in lege iudeorū sed eciam xp̄ianoꝝ · et accidit sic ꝙ illo anno quo emma concepit machometum fuit magna siccitas ꝑ omnem terrā

(38) Alphonsus de Spina (d. c. 1464). *Fortalitium fidei contra iudeos saracenos aliosque christiane fidei inimicos.* Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin, not after 1471.

Alphonsus de Spina, or Alonso de Espina, was a preacher from Castille and a member of the Observant branch of the Franciscan order. His best-known work is the *Fortalitium fidei*, 'The Fortress of Faith'. Alonso likened the Christian faith to a fortress, and his book was intended to provide the defenders of that fortress with the armour they need for battle. The *Fortalitium fidei* is divided into five books, each representing one of the towers of the imagined fortress. The first book is a praise of the Christian faith, but the rest are aimed against its various 'enemies': the second against the heretics; the third against the Jews; the fourth against the Muslims (Saracens); and the fifth against the demons. In these books, Espina cites the claims of Jews and Muslims and the different heresies and demons and the counter-arguments of the Church. The third book, the one against the Jews, is by far the longest. That book is preceded by the one against the heretics, the subject being the *conversos*. Although that term is applied to both Jewish and Muslim converts to Christianity, Espina focuses on Jewish *conversos* whose conversion he views with suspicion and as a danger to Christianity.

Espina advocated for the establishment of an inquisition against the *conversos* and, indeed, books three and four of the *Fortalitium fidei*, those against the Jews and the Muslims, had a strong lasting influence on the work of the Spanish Inquisition of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries against its two main target groups of converts. Moreover, while this work was originally intended for a Castilian audience, it became very influential outside of the Iberian Peninsula, as a sort of manual for inquisitors who were fighting against all sorts of 'heresies' and other 'enemies' of Christianity. It was so popular that nine editions were printed by 1525, of which the one seen here—published by one of the successors of Gutenberg, Johann Mentelin (1410–1478)—is the first. None of the editions were from Iberia.[36]

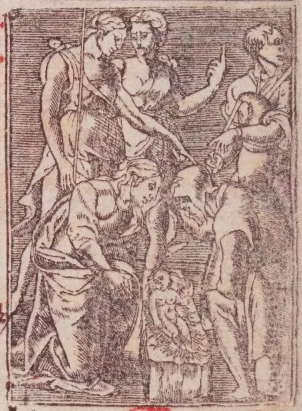
(39) João Soares (1507–1572). *Libro dela verdad d la fe sin el qual no due estare ninguu[m] Xpiano.* Lisbon: Luís Rodrigues, 1543.

This very rare and nicely illustrated Portuguese imprint is in Spanish but includes a dedication to King João (John) III of Portugal (1502–1557) in Portuguese. A second edition was printed just two years later in Alcalá, Spain, and its dedication is in Spanish.

Ibzo dela verdad ỏ la fe.

Sin el qual no ỏue estar ningũ xpiano.

Cõ priuilegio real.



Xpiano. Herege. Gentio: Judio. Mozo.

Lisboa 1543

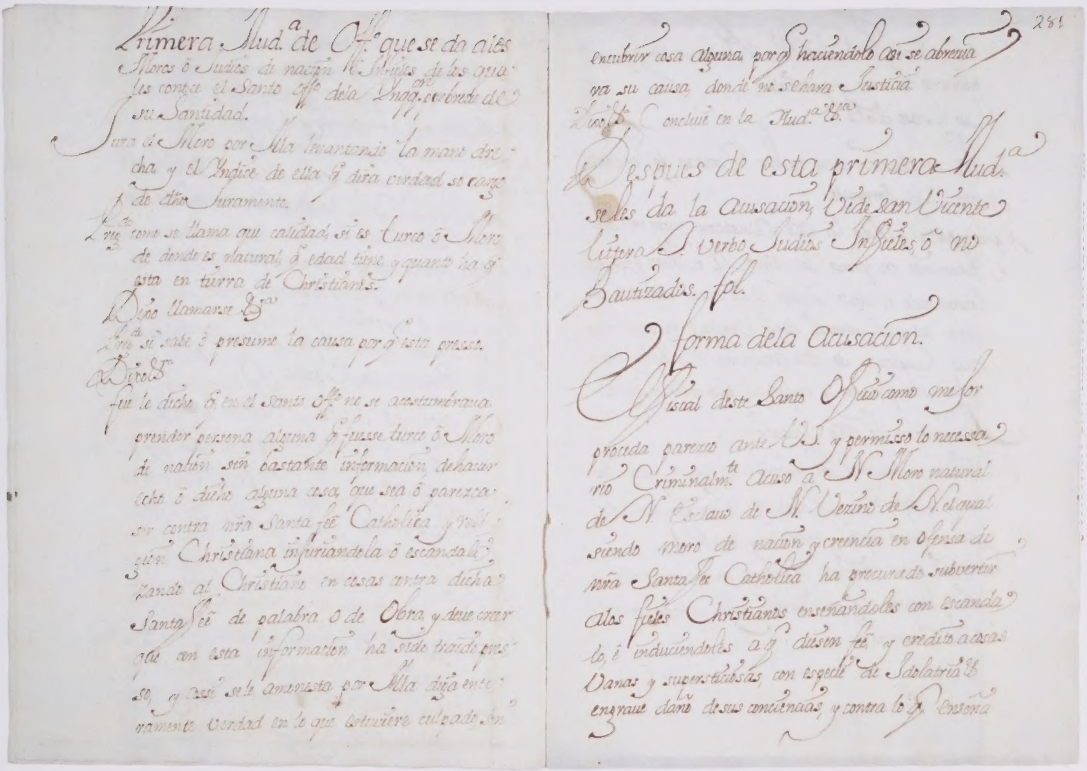
The author of this work, João Soares, was an Augustinian, a confessor, a royal preacher, and an inquisitor of the Portuguese inquisitorial court. He later became bishop of Coimbra (1545). The Portuguese Inquisition was only recently established, in 1536, and the purpose of Soares' *Libro dela verdad* was to legitimize the Inquisition and provide scriptural justification for the prevailing anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim discourse. The main targets of the Portuguese Inquisition were the *conversos*, 'New Christians', particularly recent Jewish converts to Christianity, and this book discusses the battle against Protestantism and Islam but mainly focuses on Judaism.

Seen here is the title page with its woodcuts. At the bottom are five images, identified as a Christian (*Xpiano*) and four 'infidels'—a heretic (*Herege*), a gentile (*Gentio*), a Jew (*Judio*), and a Muslim (*Moro* = Moor).

(40) Questions for the Interrogation of Muslims, Jews, and Witches. Southern Spain, late 17th century.

This document, initially part of a larger volume, was intended for the use of Spanish inquisitors. It presents precise lines of questioning for the interrogation of suspected heretics and is thus a unique document evidencing the practical workings of the Inquisition. Some examples of questions included are: 'Ask him if after he renounced [Islam], he went to the Mosque of the Moors, entering the baths first, and if he did other Moorish ceremonies?'; 'How long have you continued practicing this faith [of Moses] after you renounced it?' and, 'Have you participated in ceremonies or rituals?' One section lists questions to be asked of heretics and Jews after they confess 'during trial, public appearance, or torture', and the lines of questioning seek to lead the accused to denounce other heretics.

The date of this document is uncertain, but the mention of a date in 1655 in the section about witches indicates a date in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

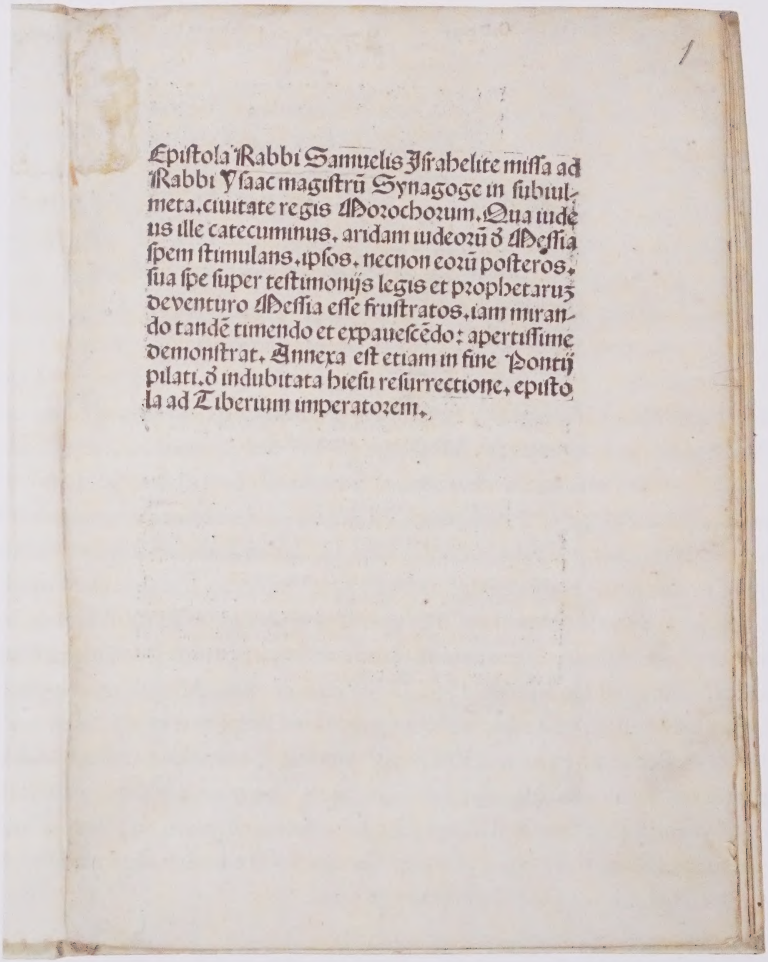


(41) *Epistola Rabbi Samuelis Israhelite missa ad Rabbi Ysaac.* Nuremberg: Kaspar Hochfeder, 1498.

This is an incunable edition of 'The Epistle of Rabbi Samuel of Morocco', published in Nuremberg in 1498. This work purports to be the Latin translation of a letter written originally in Arabic in the early eleventh century by a Moroccan Jewish rabbi named Samuel to his Moroccan colleague Rabbi Isaac. The epistle is preceded by an introduction by its purported translator Alfonso Buenhombre (died c. 1353), a Spanish Dominican friar, who was appointed Bishop of Morocco in 1344. In the introduction, Alfonso asserts that the original letter was written in Arabic with the purpose of keeping it secret. Supposedly, Samuel wrote the letter when he was still Jewish but was about to be baptized, and the letter outlines the reasons for his intended conversion. The subject of the epistle is the exile of the Jews, which by that time had lasted for over a thousand years, and Samuel argues that the reason is the Jews' rejection of Jesus. The Qur'an is mentioned to assert that, unlike the Jews, Muslims have accepted the sanctity of Jesus.

Most scholars agree that this work was not in fact written by a Jew and translated by Buenhombre, but rather was authored by Buenhombre himself, who attributed it to a Jew for the rhetorical and persuasive effect of such authorship. In that attribution he may have been inspired by the existence of an Arabic work by one Samuel of Fez, a Jewish scholar who converted to Islam in 1163 (though there are no distinct similarities with that work).

The Latin version was translated into several European languages, and with over three hundred surviving manuscripts, mostly from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, eighteen incunable editions, and eleven sixteenth-century printings, this book has been described as a 'best-seller' in religious polemical texts.[37]



Epistola Rabbi Samuelis Israhelite missa ad
Rabbi Ysaac magistrũ Synagoge in subiul-
meta, ciuitate regis Morochorum. Qua iude-
us ille catecuminus, aridam iudeorũ d Messia
spem stimulans, ipsos, necnon eorũ posteros,
sua spe super testimonijs legis et prophetaruz
deventuro Messia esse frustratos, iam miran-
do tandẽ timendo et expauescẽdo: apertissime
demonstrat. Annexa est etiam in fine Pontij
pilati, d indubitata hiesu resurrectione, episto-
la ad Tiberium imperatorem.

DE VERITATE RELIGIONIS CHRISTIANÆ LIBER;

ADVERSUS ATHEOS, EPICUreos, Ethnicos, Judæos, Mahumedistas, & cæteros Infideles:

A PHILIPPO MORNÆO Plessiaci Domino, nobili Gallo, Gallicè primùm conscriptus, Latinè versus, nunc autem ab eodem accuratissimè correctus.

Accessit ejusdem authoris, vitæ mortisq; atque adeò humanarum actionum Christiana ac pia consideratio.

Unà cum Indice rerum ac verborum copioso.

HERBORNÆ NASSOVIORVM.
1609

2 6

(42) Philippe de Mornay (1549–1623). *De veritate religionis Christianae liber: adversus atheos, epicureos, ethnicos, Judaeos, Mahumedistas, & caeteros infideles.* Herborn: Christoph Corvinus, 1609.

Philippe de Mornay, known also as Duplessis-Mornay, was a French statesman and a leader of the Huguenots (Calvinist French Protestants). He was a close counsellor of Henry IV (1553–1610) and was governor of Saumur between 1589 and 1621. Mornay authored several works, including this book, which was first published in French in 1581 in Antwerp. The title speaks for itself: 'A book on the truth of the Christian religion: against atheists, epicureans, ethnics, Jews, Mohammedans [i.e., Muslims], and other infidels'. In this treatise Mornay attacks those whom he sees as 'ignorant—atheists, epicureans, Turks, Jews, and Christians indifferent to the truth of their own religion'.[38]

(43) Guillaume Postel (1510–1581). *De orbis terrae concordia libri quatuor, multiiuga eruditione ac pietate referti.* Basel: Joannes Oporinus, 1544.

Guillaume Postel was a prolific French philosopher, linguist, and theologian as well as a Christian Kabbalist (Christian Kabbalists were a group of Christian scholars who took an interest in the mysticism of the Jewish Kabbalah and interpreted it through a Christian lens). His many publications include an introduction to twelve languages, including Hebrew and Arabic, a grammar of Hebrew, as well as the first European grammar of classical Arabic. He translated into Latin several Hebrew and Aramaic Kabbalistic works, including the Zohar itself. He annotated a number of Arabic works and was one of the first Europeans to publish extensive portions of the Qur'an, also completing a comparison of the Qur'an and the Gospels. He even wrote and published his own Hebrew work on the Kabbalah and a book on the use of Hebrew and Judaism to recover the original primordial language of humanity—one of his obsessions—supposing that Hebrew was closest to it.

Postel's most influential work is his *De orbis terrae concordia*, in which he calls for the establishment of a single world government and a single universalist religion. Postel viewed Christianity as being closest to that primordial religion to which he called all people to 'return', but it too would have to be reformed, and he believed that Judaism and Islam contained elements of the truth that were required for that reform. He called for the French king to lead this new world order, which would prepare the world for the second coming of Jesus, after a crusade against the Ottoman empire.

This book was rejected by the Faculty of Theology in Paris—and banned in Rome and Venice. It was ultimately published in Basel.[39]

VERAE RELIGIONIS, ID EST CHRISTIANAE PROBATIO, EX PHILOSOPHIA DESVMPTA, LIB. I.

TSI arduũ, & ſupra uires humanas eſt, quicquam de iſs quæ ſub ſenſum non cadunt, tractare, quod ægrè etiam confeſſa apud multos locũ habeant, multi aſſenſum à maniſeſtiſſimis cohibeant, ſenſu percipi ſolita ſuperficie tenus cognoſcantur: ratio ſit quùm ad omnia, tum maximè ad res diuinas, & ab hac feculenta materia ſeparatas, perpendendas ineſficax: tamen & conatus probandi ſtudio, & ſumma cõſequendi deſiderio, ſatius experiri iudico, quid uires humanæ poſſint, & deſidia, animíq; deiectione intentatum relinquere, quod uel ſola aſſequendi cogitatione, non parum utilitatis huic mortalitati adferat. Dum enim in cogitatione magnarum rerum animus occupatur, quamuis id non ſoleat conſequi, quod ſibi propoſuit, aſſequendi tamen ſtudio dum tenetur, totusq; in contemplando occupatur, multis moleſtijs careat neceſſe eſt. In rei enim cogitationem, cum totus adeò feratur, ut planè rapiatur ab ipſo affectu, fit, ut quibus cæteri premũtur moleſtijs, illas ne ſentiat quidem: ueluti qui ſanguini & uindictæ attentus eſt, non ſentit quæ uulnera accipiat, niſi reſederit, affectu ipſo rapiente: fœlicitates uerò cæteras ita per tranſennam uideat, admireturq;, ut qui propoſito felicitatis ſcopo, nil planè cæterorum donec ad eum peruenerit, aſpiciat curét ue. Quum itaq; uideam felicitatem eſſe huius uitæ ſcopum, quam naturaliter omnia appetant, eaq; uario iudicio in uarias partes ſit diſſecta, dum alius aliam eius partẽ ſibi proponit, alius multas partes conſequi ſatagit, ſolidam nemo non adpetit, de ea ipſa ut ſumma abſolutaq; cogitari poteſt diſceptando: ſta tui ita tractare, ut ex iſs ſenſilibus eius ueſtigijs, ſpectris, & coniecturis in cognitionem ueniam, quatenus animo ergaſtulis corporis clauſo licet attingere, diuinitatemq; ſummi numinis & rerum omnium opificis demonſtrare, ut & hoc labore, interim à cęteris rebus auocante, diſtractus, dum mihi ſatisfacere conor, etiam ſi argumentum huic ętati traditum prodeſſe poterit, id uerò me magnum precium operæ feciſſe uidear. Quod ut paulo altiori ſumma repetatur, à totius naturæ contemplatione incipiendum eſſe iudico, non ſine illius quem quærimus, fauore & gratia id aggredi auſus: quem ideò omnibus uotis oro & obſecro, ut quam de eo cognitionem ſua miſericordia ad hanc diem nobis per ſacras ſcripturas eiuſq; filiũ Ieſum Chriſtum θεάνθρωπον aperire dignatus eſt, eandem ueluti ab eius autoritate uindicatam, in rationis poteſtatẽ aliquantiſper tranſire permittat, faciatq;. Quamdiu durauit innocentia, proſcripta ambitio eſt, fucus in ſacra loca non irrepſit, præſensq; adfuit ſcelerum uindex, miraculorumq; effectrix prouidentia, ſatis ipſa ſe mundo aperuit: quicquid eius nomine ſacra edixit religio, receptum eſt. Tempora uerò iſthæc periculoſa, quæ prædixit Petrus, nil ſanæ doctrinæ recipiunt, autoritatem rident, ad fabulas conuertuntur, reſiliunt ab omni antiquitatis autoritate, ut ſua ſectentur ſomnia: quibus ut ſint inexcuſabiles, & meritò ab hominũ numero, ſi ueritatem rationi iunctam non audiant, ſeparentur, hæc propoſita uolo. Vt uerò qui falſa autoritate ad hanc diem ſunt occupati, uerum ſuſcipiãt, hoc opus ſi aliis quàm mihi profuturũ eſt, ſcriptum cupio. Non ita ſanè me miſeret multorũ, qui poſt agnitam ueritatem

Exhibition Items List

I
The Holy Books
Cases 1–2

1. Torah, Nevi'im, Ketuvim. Toledo Spain, 1307. **friedberg MSS 5-001**
2. The Kennicott Bible. London: Facsimile Editions, 1985. **E-10 05275**
3. The Qur'an. Istanbul, 18th century. **MSS 01239**
4. Qur'an. Harar, Ethiopia, second half of the 18th century? **MSS 05330**
5. *The Alcoran of Mahomet*. London, 1649. **B-13 06593**
6. Al- Qur'an: Sūrat al-Fātiḥah wa Sūrat al-Baqarah, 1-74. 1715 or 1716. **arab MSS 00458**
7. Ḥamishah Ḥumshe Torah. 1448. **friedberg MSS 5-003**
8. *Tūrāt Mūsá al-nabī 'alayhi al-salām: is est Pentateuchus Mosis arabicè*. Lyon, France: Erpenius, 1622. **B-14 00636**
9. Robert Clarke. *Miftāḥ al-taurāt*. Ludhiana, 1876. **B-14 00608**
10. Yalḳuṭ midrashim 'a. ha-Torah. Yemen, 14th century? **friedberg MSS 3-018**
11. Serat Yusup. Java, c. 1800. **MSS 04748**
12. Jāmī. Yūsuf va Zulaykhā. Persia, 1538. **MSS 03902**
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سورة البقرة مدنية الا خمس ايات فاعقلوا واصبحوا الاية ليس
عليك هداهم الاية نزلت بمكة واتقوا يوما ترجعون فيه الى الله
نزلت بمنى وهي اخر اية نزلت في قول ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما من
الرسول الى اخرها نزلن يوم فتح مكة وهن كذا لم يفتح لاحد قبله
وهي مائتا اية وسبع وثمانون اية في عد البصري وست في
الكوفي وخمس في الباقي بخلاف واحدى عشرة اية الم عدها الكوفي
عذاب اليم عدها الشامي وترك عوضها انما نحن مصلحون الا انهم
عدها البصري يا اولي الابصار تركها المكي والمدني الاول من خلاف
تركها المدني الاخير ما ذا ينفقون عدها المكي والمدني الاول لعلكم
تتفكرون عدها المدني الاخير قولا معروفا عدها البصري الحي القيوم
عدها البصري والمدني الاخير وكلماتها ستة الاف ومائة واحدى
وعشرون كلمة وحروفها خمسة وعشرون الفا وخمسمائة
حرف

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الم ذلك الكتب لا ريب فيه هدى
للمتقين الذين يؤمنون بالغيب ويقيمون
الصلوة ومما رزقناهم ينفقون
والذين يؤمنون بما انزل اليك وما انزل
من قبلك وبالاخرة هم يوقنون

سورة فاتحة الكتاب العزيز مكية وقيل مدنية وهي سبع
ايات بالخلاف في ايتين بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عدها المكي
والكوفي وتركوا عوضها انعمت عليهم وعدد كلماتها في حساب
الكتبة للحجاج بن يوسف تسع وعشرون كلمة وحروفها مائة
واحدى وعشرون حرفا وهذه السورة العظيمة شفا من كل داء وقية
من كل مرض وعلة ولها اثنان وعشرون اسما فاتحة الكتاب وام الكتاب
والواقية بالفا والواقية بالقاف والكافية والسبع المثاني
وام القران والشفا والاساس والحمد والرقية والنور وسورة
الصلاة وسورة الحمد وسورة تعليم المسئلة وسورة المناجاة
والدعا والسوال والذكر والتفويض وكثرة الاسماء
تدل على الشرف

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العلمين الرحمن الرحيم
ملك يوم الدين اياك نعبد واياك
نستعين اهدنا الصراط المستقيم
صراط الذين انعمت عليهم غير
المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين